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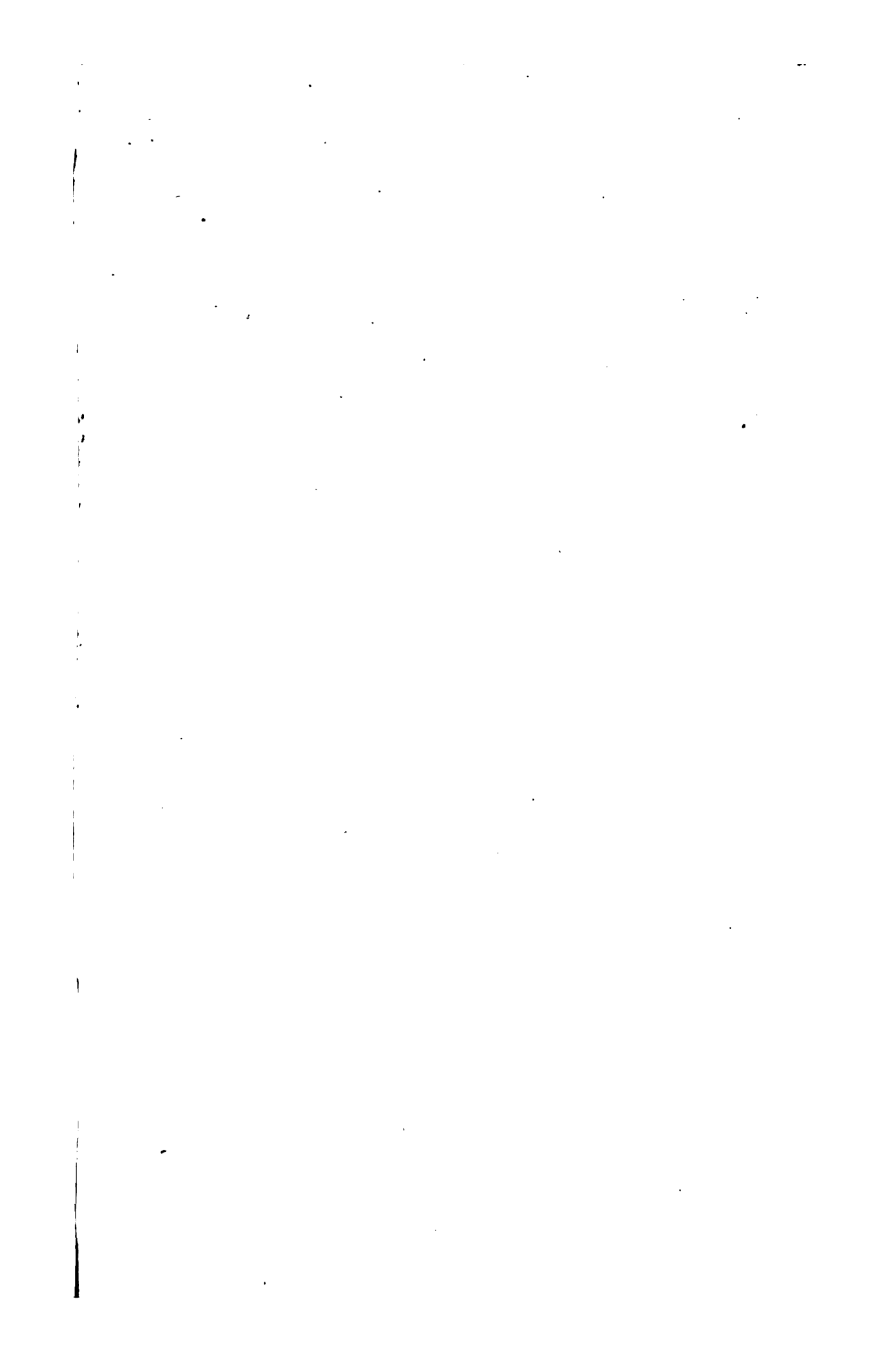
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THE ABORIGINES

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES.

BY

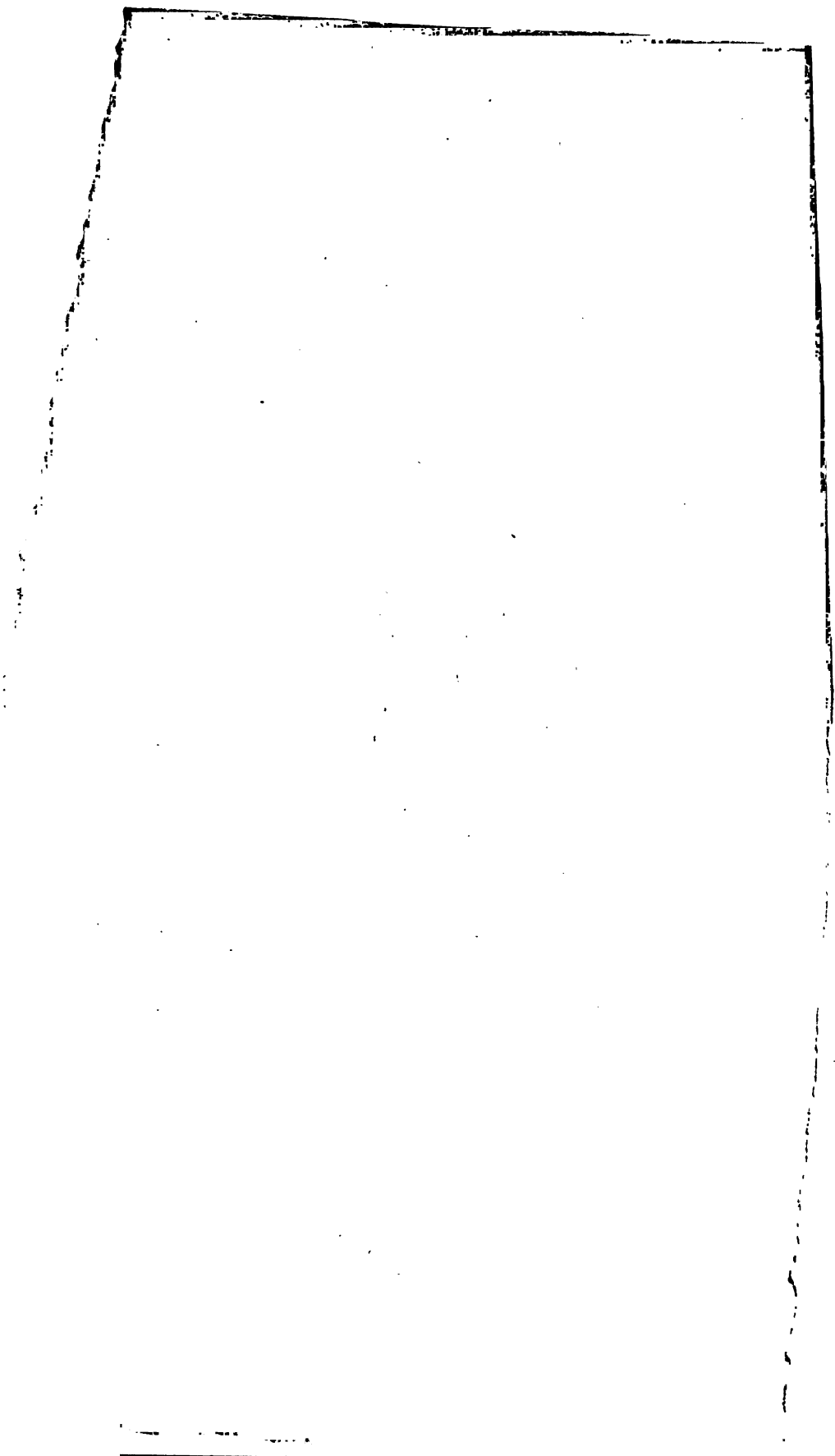
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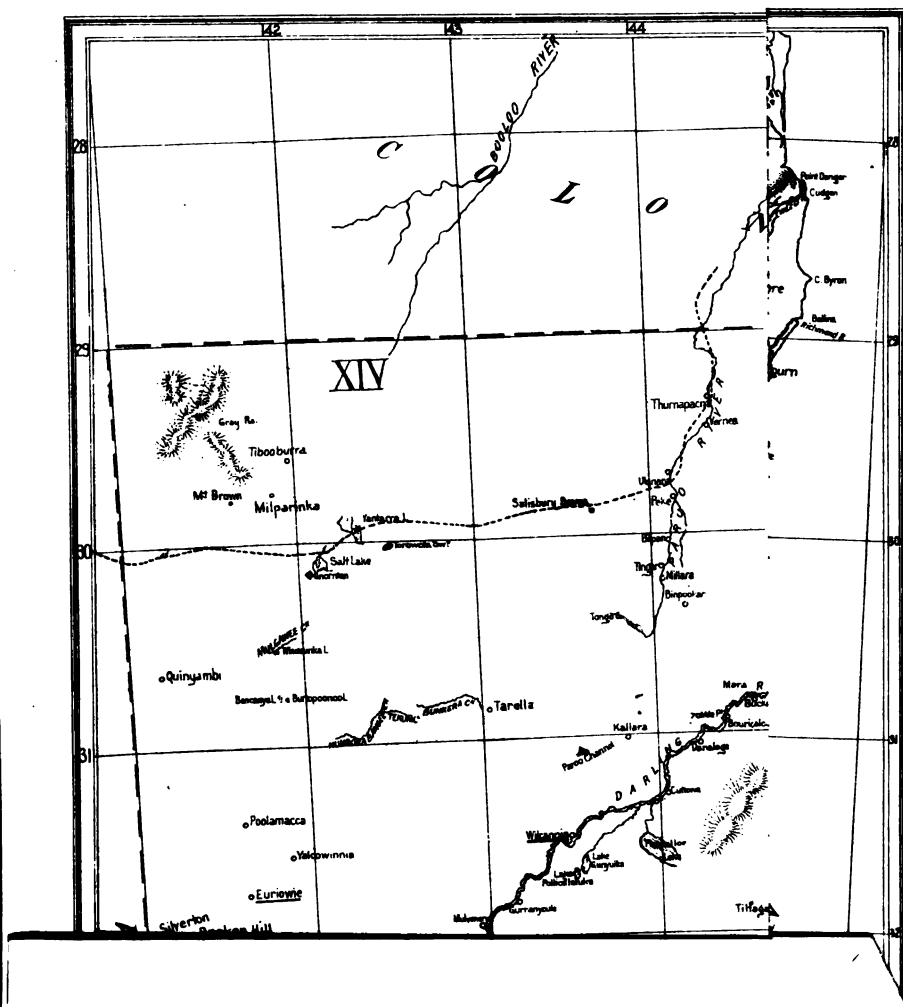


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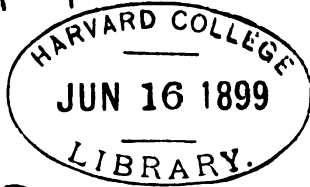
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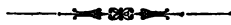


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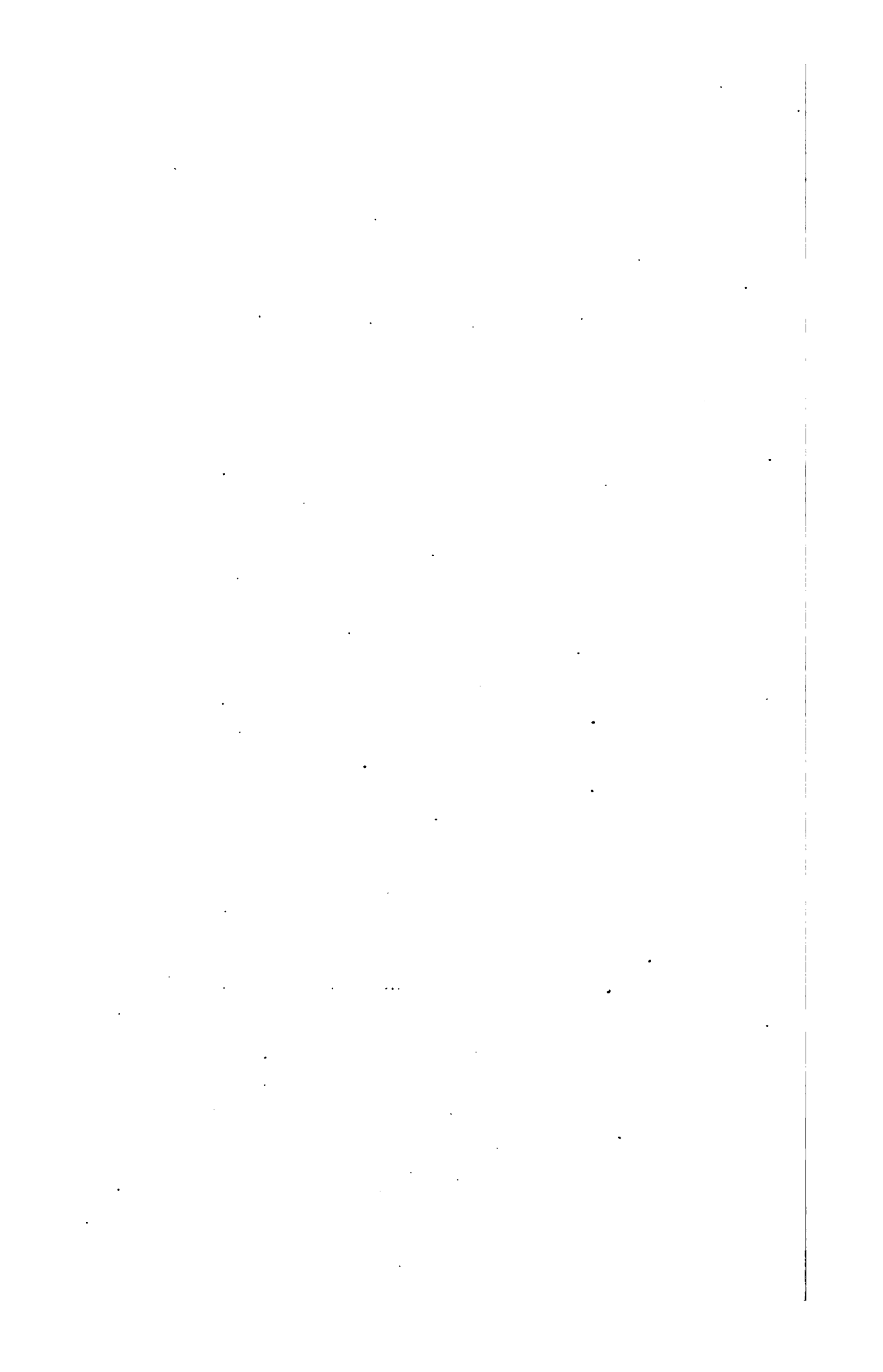
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THE ABORIGINES OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

AN American negro knows that Africa is his ultimate home of origin, but, if one of our Australian blacks at this "World's Exposition" were to claim him as a kinsman, the claim would, in most instances, be promptly rejected as absurd. And yet the whole of Australia and New Guinea and the New Hebrides, and many of the adjacent islands are, at this moment, occupied by black tribes which are branches of an Eastern Ethiopian race, just as truly as the American negroes are sprung from the Western Ethiopians of Africa. These two divisions of the Ethiopian race have existed from the earliest times; for, from the opening lines of the *Odyssey*, it is evident that Homer knew of them in his day; and in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., they were distinct portions of the army that Xerxes led against Greece; for, speaking of them, Herodotus says, "The Ethiopians from the sun-rise (for two kinds served in the expedition) were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language and their hair. For the Eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired, but those of Libya have hair more curly than that of any other people. These Ethiopians from Asia were accoutred almost the same as the Indians." (*Her.*, VII-70.)

At a much earlier period than Homer's time, these Hamites or Ethiopians were one and undivided; for, on the plains of Babylonia, probably 1500 years before that, they seem to have aspired to universal dominion under the leadership of Nimrod, who was of their blood, and it is quite possible that the Akkadians of primitive Babylonia were Hamites.

If the reader should think it strange that I assert claims of kindred between the Australian indigenes and the American negroes—races who now live in regions so far apart, and in outward circumstances so very different—I would simply ask him to think of the relation which he himself, as a native-born American, bears to many of us in Australia. Three hundred years ago, your individual ancestors and ours lived in the same village, perhaps, in Hampshire; the colonising spirit of our common race there, or the pressure of arbitrary power later on, carried your forefathers to the Columbian land, while ours remained behind, till, in the fulness of time, the thirst for gold or the prospect of a happier life led us hither; and yet I presume that neither Americans nor Australians desire now to disown their common ancestry, separated though we are by the width of a vast ocean. The causes which led to this severance from the old stock in your case and ours were mostly of a peaceful kind; but it must have been violence that broke the Babylonian Hamites into two pieces, and hurled them to the west and to the east—into Africa, and towards Australia. In a great battle, the enemy's line or columns may be firm and dense; yet the charge of a mass of heavy cavalry will cut that line in two, and scatter the fragments far a-field by the mere force of the impact; and, if the disrupting force be strong enough, the broken portions may be kept apart, unable to unite again. Somewhat in this way, I think,

were the black Hamites driven from Babylonia. Settled on these fertile plains, they had increased to a great multitude, when a powerful race from the north—perhaps the Shemites, who afterwards formed the kingdom of Assyria—fell upon them and broke them in two; one portion fled into Africa; the other—the one which concerns my present inquiry—was driven into India; thence, after many and various experiences, into the Eastern Peninsula and Archipelago, and thence into Australia and Melanesia. On this theory, which is in part based on the facts of history, I account for the kinship of the African negro to the Australian indigene.

It will not be necessary, at this point, to say more about the origin of the Australian black man; I now proceed to examine him in his native environment, as he grows up from birth to manhood, and thence from manhood to old age.

If the limits assigned to this pamphlet had permitted, additional sections could have been introduced, treating of the 'karaji' or medicine-man, spirit-world, mythology, the physical features of the natives, their moral and intellectual qualities, their cave-paintings and other specimens of art, their language, as well as the probable origin and migrations of the Australian race. But, as it is, many of my facts and arguments are here produced for the first time; and the same facts are sometimes referred to in two or more sections, for they belong to each.

II.—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

Birth. The children of an Australian household have a pleasant time of it, but the lot of the mother is indeed hard. Married at an early age, she has not only to bear and rear the children, but she does all the heavy work of the family; in camp, it is her duty to put up the rude wind-shelter of sticks and foliage which serves them as a home, to make a fire and keep it burning, and to cook the food; on the march, she carries in a bag, resting on her back and slung from her neck, all their portable property, and seated on this bag is her youngest child, kept securely there and protected from the weather by a cloak of opossum skin, which is also fastened round her neck; in this bag, in addition to the few utensils she requires for domestic labours, she has a yam-stick with which to dig up the numerous native roots which are used as food, a supply of these and of other articles of food required for a meal, a quantity of native string and hooks for catching fish. As her husband walks along, she follows him at a respectful distance, and, if there is any conversation between them, it flies from front to rear and back again. If they sit down to meal, she still keeps behind and gets her share flung to her without ceremony. For the ready kindling of a fire, whenever it is required, she has to carry with her a smouldering piece of firewood; if she allows this to go out, and thus put her lord and master to the labour of getting fire by friction, or if she in any other way gives him displeasure, he will beat her severely, even till her body is covered with bruises and her hair is matted with blood; she sulks, perhaps, for a while thereafter, but soon forgets her beating; for is that not the common lot of all black women? And yet the *kuri* or 'black man' is usually kind and affectionate to his *jîn*, 'wife,' and they are, both of them, specially kind and indulgent to their children; if any of the younger ones is injured by an accident, or diseased, or sick, he is carefully tended until well; if he is deformed or otherwise helpless, his parents carry him about even for years, and his brothers must hunt for him, and thus supply him with food.

Cannibalism. And yet these same men, so tender towards the young, have cannibal propensities which they occasionally indulge. If a neighbour's child is fat and plump, some of them think that they are hungry, and, in the absence of the mother, they kill the child and cook it and share it among them. On one occasion, a grown woman, whose bodily condition was that of an ox fit for the shambles, overheard some men expressing a desire for a feast on her flesh; but, discovering herself, she routed them with such a storm of indignant words as a black woman only can utter. The blacks of the present day deny this cannibalism, but it certainly was practised, although not generally; it exists even now in Queensland.

Parturition. In some conditions of her life, the principles laid down in the fifteenth chapter of Leviticus (*vv.* 19, 33) strictly apply to a black woman, whether married or single. She sequesters herself for a time; she must not cook any food for others, for everything she touches is unclean; she lies on the other side of the fire, away from her husband; and a blackfellow, moving about in the bush, will go a long distance round about to avoid her tracks in such a case; if she sees him drawing near her in ignorance, she must call out to warn him, lest contact, even of the faintest kind, should make his hair turn prematurely grey or bring other evils. A 'kuri' once slept in a blanket that had been used by his 'jin.' When he came to know that it was defiled, he thrust his wife through with a spear, and shortly after he himself died from fear of the consequences of this pollution. In some localities, she must paint her head and body down to the waist with red clay, and shun all contact with others.

Parturition is easy, and no assistance is required. If the band is on the move, the woman goes aside into the bush alone or with a female companion, and ere long she rejoins them, either with or without the child; for infanticide is common. If a mother thinks her daily toil so heavy that the child is to be a burden she cannot bear, she buries it in a sand-heap, or puts a pebble in its mouth to choke it, or simply leaves it to perish where it is. Or, if the father thinks that the care of the little one will impair to him the value of his wife's labours, he takes a club, and, notwithstanding the resistance of the mother (for she is not always forsaken by her natural affection), he kills the child. It is curious that, in some places, the maternal uncle is expected to do this deed, and that, in other respects and in other circumstances of a boy's life, this uncle acts as a father to him. Girls especially are not spared. To escape drudgery also, women, who are about to become mothers, kill the child by violence before its birth. The natives do not regard infanticide as a moral offence or a violation of law, but simply as a matter of convenience, regulated by the circumstances of each case; for, in an instance known to me, the parents killed two or three of their earliest offspring and yet spared children that came after, and reared them carefully.

A black woman likes to have children by a white father, for the half-caste son has the qualities of a superior race. Fifty years ago, in one locality which I know, the half-castes had become so numerous that the leaders of the tribe, after deliberation, killed the whole of them. They feared that the young men would be too powerful for the tribe, because of their white blood.

If the band happens to be in camp when a birth is imminent, the father gets out of the way for several days; one or two married women come in to nurse the baby; the sick mother is kept warm, with hot stones, if necessary; she drinks only tepid water, and very little solid food is given to her; in a very short time she is well again. There are very few deaths from child-birth, and there are no idiot children.

Abortion. As in other negro and negroid regions, so here; there is very little abortion from natural causes, and few deformed or peculiar births, although an albino sometimes appears and is allowed to live.

The Child. The newly-born child is not black, but somewhat fair in colour; the blackness appears first on the forehead and then gradually spreads. The soles of the feet and the palms remain white for some time, and these, even in the grown man, are of a light pinkish colour. A half-caste man and a half-caste woman at Gloucester had several children; the first-born grew up to be fairer than black children are, but those that followed were darker and darker; at last, a friend of mine said to the father, "Jimmy, how is this?" "Oh," he replied, "that is always so; the black blood comes out at last." And, so far as my information goes, that explanation seems to be correct. The new-born babe is not washed or swaddled; it is simply rubbed all over with grease and charcoal, and laid near the fire, or committed to the nurse's arms, if there is one present; the placenta is buried. A chrysalis, got from under the bark of a tree, is much valued as food for the child; it tastes like raw eggs. The mother suckles the child, and continues to suckle it for a very long time, perhaps two years or more; the indigestible nature of the black man's food, and the uncertainty of the supply of it, render this necessary for the rearing of the child. From the hardness of her lot in these and other respects, a black woman is barren and old at thirty. There is a restriction of food for the woman herself when she is about to become a mother; she must not eat kangaroo or eel or birds. In Melanesia, the father, too, at that time abstains from certain kinds of food, on the belief that in some occult way they would injure the child.

Naming. This is a very simple affair; if the scream of an eagle was heard at the moment of the birth, or the hoot of an owl, or if a bandicoot or kangaroo was seen to pass by, the name of that animal, with some derivative termination added, is applied to the child; one was even named from fire, because the hut caught fire when the child was born. In some quarters the father and mother, after the birth of their first child, are addressed by the name of their child in honour; a formative—*anni* for the father and *annike* for the mother—is added to the name to make it apply to them. As a parallel to that, we remember that the tribes among whom David Livingstone laboured had a similar custom. Among his Barotse people too children bore the name of gun, horse, waggon, &c. Among the Kal-mucks of the Lower Volga, it is customary to carry the new-born babe into the open air, and whatever object first meets the eye—be it sheep, dog, or anything else—that gives its name to the child. Besides the similar usages among us, our blacks also give the child a name from the place where it was born; as Awabakal, 'a man of Awaba,' Awabakalin, 'a woman of Awaba,' England-kal, 'the English.' They have words too to describe the different stages of a man's life; for instance, one tribal dialect says—*taïum*, 'a baby'; *balun*, 'a boy'; *čubbo*, 'a youth'; *murrawan*, 'a lad' in his first initiation; *kumban-gari*, 'a lad,' in another stage of initiation; *kibbara*, 'a lad' fully initiated; *paigal*, 'a man'; *mobeg*, 'an old man.'

Educa-tion. Training for bush life begins very early. As soon as the little one is able to toddle about, the father makes for the boy a small spear to practise with at a mark; the girl gets a stick, and is taught to recognise food-roots and to dig them out, to find the larvæ of insects under the bark of a tree, and to kill lizards; and the parents take as much delight in this business as we do in teaching our children their

alphabet. If a river or lagoon is near the camp, the young ones soon learn to be amphibious, and, when they become a little older and stronger, they have much of their amusement in the water, chasing each other and sporting in it in as lively a way as a Polynesian in the surf. The boy is soon able to go out with his father on hunting expeditions, and learns all sorts of woodcraft, and ere long is himself an expert hunter, and knows the whole of the 'taurai' and its denizens and its products as familiarly as an English gentleman knows his own domain. Nor is the girl's education neglected. In England, in other days, a young girl was taught to spin, but the black girl's only attire being her own swarthy skin, her labour is somewhat different; under her mother's eye she takes the hairs of the slain opossums, and, twirling them against her knee with the flat of her hand, rolls them into string. This is useful in many ways; for the women are expert netters, and with it they make their bags; and, where fishing is possible, it is used for lines. One girl in a family is usually set apart as the fisher, and, to render her little finger more sensitive to the line, the point of it is taken off at the first joint. They also plait the human hair into long cords, and no more convincing proof of affection can be shown than when a man sends a cord of his own hair with which to bind up the tresses of his friend. Fashion among black men required that, on great occasions, the men's hair should be done up into the shape of a cone on the head, and bound together with cords.

Natural Affection. Some writers, who consider our blacks as the lowest of the human race, allege in proof of this that they are devoid of natural affection and unkind to children and parents. Certainly the killing of their children is an unnatural act, but, as I have already said, that is not done of choice; otherwise they are foolishly fond of their young offspring, and treat them with great indulgence, and patiently bear the burden of them when sick or crippled. Then also, our blacks are very kind to the aged and infirm. Many a time have I seen blind Boko led about by two other men of the tribe as tenderly and carefully as if he were a little child—led by the hand to the white man's door; if any food was given to them, Boko always got his share first; if a glass was offered, the top of the glass was his. If a man is only an old man, he is honoured, and a word from him will be an end of strife; his very age, bringing with it experience, may qualify him to be a chief, especially if he is also wise in counsel. If a man is old and infirm, and thus unable to hunt, the tribal law, to which they are all trained, requires the young hunters to bring the very best of the food and give it to him. From the pressure of a hard mode of life, the parents kill their babes; but if a child dies, although only a few weeks old, mourning is worn in the camp as if for an adult; the mother and other relatives raise at times during the day, and especially at sun-down, those 'keening' cries which betoken the presence of death; in excess of grief the women even cut their heads till the blood streams down. Is it true then that our blacks show no affectionate regard for young or old? It would be better if those who slander them thus would only take care to be well informed before they speak.

Kindness. Not only are they kind to children, they are kind to the dog, the only domestic animal they have. The women carry this kindness to excess; if a pup has lost its mother, they suckle and nurse it, and a black man goes to sleep with a dog nestling in his bosom to keep him warm when the fire has gone out. He gets a strong liking for his dogs and they for him, and, if you meet him as he wanders through the bush, two or three dogs are sure to be following at his heels. They are useful to him in hunting, and so he likes them as companions.

III.—MATURITY.

The Bora.

In Australia, boys and girls reach maturity at a somewhat earlier age than in the colder latitudes of Europe and America. But to a black lad maturity is a period of much anticipation; for then he lays aside his state of pupillage as his mother's boy, and enters the tribe, but only through certain ceremonies of initiation which 'make a man' of him, and thereby give him the qualification and the right to act as a member of the tribe. These ceremonies are, in this part of Australia, called the Bora; and, as that name has been used in English books ever since the earliest settlements in this land, it has established a prescriptive right to recognition, and is understood everywhere. It seems to me, therefore, unnecessary to use any other name for it, merely noting that in various places it has various other names. But, with some minor differences in the mode of its administration, the Bora exists everywhere throughout Australia. I therefore conclude that it belongs to the whole race, and is an essential attribute of its existence.

Now, before I go on to examine the ceremonies of the Bora, it may be convenient to say here that the negroes of Upper Guinea had, and still have, certain religious mysteries singularly like those of the Bora. These, like the Bora, are ceremonies of initiation, and not only bring a youth to a knowledge of his country's gods, but qualify him to commune with spirits and to hold civil power and authority in the State; all the uninitiated are to him a *profanum vulgus*, who, on the least transgression of his commands, may be hurried away into the woods, there to be destroyed by the evil spirits which the magical power of the initiated can command and control. As an assembly for thus receiving the youths into the tribe is convened but four or five times in a century, and occupies a period of five years, only a small proportion of the male population can acquire the qualification necessary for power in the State. The king issues, when he pleases, an order for the holding of this assembly. The preparations are committed to the care of those old men that are known to be best acquainted with the mysteries. These choose suitable places in the woods, and make ready there every appliance which can produce surprise, awe, and chilling fear on the minds of novices. All women, children, and strangers are warned from the spot during the ceremonies, and the novice believes that, if he reveals any of the secrets of the grove, the spirits, knowing his faithlessness and profanity, will bring destruction upon him in some way or other. The country, for some three or four miles around, is sacred and inviolable, and the evil spirits will carry off those who intrude.

These and similar particulars are to be found at greater length in Bishop Hurd's *Rites and Ceremonies*, which was published eighty years ago—long before the science of ethnography had come into existence; and if it were needful, after so good an authority, to bring further evidence, we have it in a more recent form in the books of Mons. P. du Chaillu, Mr. W. Winwood Reade and others, on Equatorial and Central Africa. From these I now give some quotations:—"In Equatorial Africa, before any are permitted to wear clothes, marry, and rank in society as men and women, the young have to be initiated into certain mysteries. I received certain information on this head from [my friend] Mongilomba, after he had made me promise that I would not put it in my book. He told me that he was taken into a fetich house, stripped; severely flogged, and plastered with goat dung, this ceremony, like those of masonry, being conducted to the sound of music. Afterwards there came, from behind a kind of screen or shrine, uncouth and terrible sounds,

such as he had never heard before. These, he was told, emanated from a spirit called Ukuk. He afterwards brought to me the instrument with which the fetich man makes the noise. It was a whistle made of hollowed mangrove wood, about 2 inches in length, and covered at one end with a scrap of bat's wing. For a period of five days after initiation, the novice wears an apron of dry palm leaves, which I have frequently seen.

"The initiation of the girls is performed by elderly females, who call themselves 'ngembi.' They go into the forest, clear a space, sweep the ground carefully, come back to the town, and build a sacred hut, which no male may enter. They return to the clearing in the forest, taking with them the 'igonji' or novice. It is necessary that she should have never been to that place before, and that she fast during the whole of the ceremony, which lasts three days. All this time a fire is kept burning in the wood. From morning to night, and night to morning, a 'ngembi' sits beside it, and feeds it, singing with a cracked voice, 'The fire will never die out.' The third night is passed in the sacred hut; the 'igonji' is rubbed with black, red, and white paints, and as the men beat drums outside, she cries 'Okanda yo, yo, yo,' which reminds one of the 'evohe' of the ancient bacchanals. The ceremonies performed in the hut and in the wood are kept secret from the men, and I can say but little about them. Mongilomba had evidently been playing the spy, but was very reserved upon the subject.

"During the novitiate which succeeds initiation, the girls are taught religious dances, the men are instructed in the science of fetich. It is then that they are told that there are certain kinds of food which are forbidden to their clan. One clan may not eat crocodile, another hippopotamus, nor a third buffalo. These are relics of the old animal worship. The spirit Ukuk (or M'wetyi, as he is called in the Shekani country) is supposed to live in the bowels of the earth, and to come to the upper world when there is any business to perform. He is then supposed to dwell in the fetich house, which is built in a peculiar form, covered with dry plantain leaves, and is always kept perfectly dark. Thence issue strange sounds like the growling of a tiger, which make the women and children shudder and run to their houses. When the mangrove tube is thus heard to be at work, the initiated repair to the house, and a 'lodge' is held."

Farther south, the Kaffirs have similar ceremonies in connection with the circumcision of boys. The main features are these:—"This national rite is performed at the age of puberty, and partakes partly of a civil and partly of a religious character. As a civil rite it introduces boys into a state of manhood, and as a religious rite it imposes upon them the responsibility of conforming to all the rites and ceremonies of their superstition. Circumcision is generally performed about the time of the new year. A number of neighbouring kraals club together, and arrange that the boys thereof shall be circumcised together. A hut is erected for that purpose about half a mile from the most central kraal. To this hut the boys are taken, having been placed in charge of a person appointed to that office, and under whose charge they continue during the whole time of their initiation, and which state of initiation is called *ubukweta*, the boys themselves being termed *abakweta*. Here the ceremony is performed, after which healing plants are applied, together with certain charms, especial care being taken to preserve the whole of these, to be burned at the appointed time, in order that they may not fall into the hands of sorcerers or witches, who might make use of them, as *ubuti*, to bewitch the boys. During the whole time of their initiation, which generally lasts until the Kaffir corn crops are reaped, the boys form an entirely

separate community; they sleep in one hut, and no others are allowed to eat with them. Another heathenish custom connected with this rite is the *ukutshila*, which consists in attiring themselves with the leaves of the wild date, in the most fantastic manner; and, thus attired, they visit each of the kraals to which they belong in rotation, for the purpose of dancing. After all this the *abakweta* are taken to the river to be washed; for, during the whole time of their separation, they smear themselves all over with white clay. The whole of the men of the kraals to which they belong being assembled, the boys are chased by them, and obliged to run as fast as possible all the way to the river. After having sufficiently performed their ablutions, they return to their huts, when everything connected with their *ubukweta*, including their 'karosses,' bandages, &c., is collected inside the hut, and the whole is burned. The boys, having been smeared with fat and red clay, are presented with new 'karosses.' They then proceed in a body to the kraal which has the charge of them, all of them being exceedingly careful not to look back upon the burning hut, lest some supernatural evil should befall them; and, in order more effectually to avoid this, they are careful to cover their heads all over with 'karosses.' The next day, all the men assemble in the cattle-fold, and a grand feast ensues, at which the ceremonies of *ukuyala* and *ukusoka* are performed. The first consists in discourses or lectures by the men to the novices on their duties as members of society, as they have now entered into the important state of manhood. These duties, they are told, consist in obeying their chief, defending their tribe from all enemies, and in conforming to all the customs, and fulfilling all the rites and ceremonies of their forefathers. They are also exhorted to be careful in providing for their parents and all others committed to their charge, and to exercise a spirit of liberality towards all their neighbours and friends. The *ukusoka* consists in presents being made to them, by the men assembled, of cattle, 'assagais,' &c., in order to give them a start in life. They are then pronounced to be *men*, and are admitted to all the privileges of that important state.

"During the period of their seclusion, the novices are distinguished by having their faces and legs smeared with a kind of white clay, and their 'karosses' left undressed with the usual preparation of red-ochre. Their appearance in the presence of married women is strictly prohibited. It is accordingly no uncommon thing to see a party of *abakweta* take instant flight to some hiding-place, while a woman of that class passes by. No such interdict exists with regard to the unmarried.

"One of the most striking proofs of the amazing power which the chief, Utahaka, acquired over the minds of the Amazulu was that he was able to induce his people to abandon this custom. This was done solely for military purposes, as it might sometimes interfere with, or prevent, his ambitious designs.

"*Ntonjane* is the initiatory rite analogous to circumcision, by which girls are introduced into womanhood; it is partly of a civil and partly of a superstitious nature. The girl is placed in a separate hut, and none but females are allowed to see her; and, during the time of her separation, which lasts from seven to ten days, neither she nor any of her female companions are allowed to use milk. A festival ensues at which much license prevails."

In Fiji—also a Melanesian region—there are ceremonies of initiation similar to those of the Australian Bora; and these are called the 'Nanga' custom, but it existed only among certain tribes. An oblong space of

considerable size was surrounded with low stone walls, and then divided into three enclosures by two parallel walls running across; each of these low dividing stone walls had in the middle a break in it like a door-sill, which could be easily stepped over. The farthest of these enclosures was the most sacred, and there was set in it the 'kava' bowl. In the open ground beyond that, and outside the encircling wall, was a bell-roofed house, called the 'sacred temple.' On 'Nanga' occasions, the people are of five kinds—(1) the women, children, and uninitiated, who must keep outside the enclosure altogether; children must not even play near it; (2) the young men about to be initiated for the first time; (3) those who have passed through one Nanga ceremony; (4) those who have attended two Nangas, and have thus become full members; (5) the old men or elders who have charge of the sacred Nanga and preside at the ceremonies. The rite is celebrated at long intervals, and intimation is given, perhaps two years beforehand, that all may be ready. But famine or war may intervene and delay the holding of the Nanga; hence youths long past puberty, and even bearded men, may come to be initiated. When at last the time for the Nanga has come, great preparations are made and food collected in quantities, for the men must not return to the villages while the ceremonies last; a pathway is carefully cleared from the village to the Nanga enclosure, and along this the novices advance, all clean shaven; they come on in single file, treading in the footsteps of an old priest, who goes before them with his carved staff of office in hand; he leads them into the middle enclosure—the 'Great Nanga,'—where the other celebrants are already seated, chanting a song like the low murmuring of the surf on a distant coral reef. The novices are then conducted to huts near by, which have been made ready for them. Thus ends the first day. On each of the three days that follow, they are led from the huts to the 'Great Nanga' by the same guide and in the same manner, and then return to their huts. But on the fifth day, when they have come as before, they find the Nanga empty; the procession now stops, and, from the forest on all sides around, come screams of parrots and booming noises which frighten the novices; their priestly friend now lead them into the farthest or most sacred Nanga; there they see lying on the ground in front of them the bodies of men, covered with gashes and blood, and their bowels protruding; beyond these is the high priest, sitting alone and looking at the comers with a fixed stare. Stepping over the prostrate bodies, the young men follow their guide and stand in a row before the high priest; he now utters a yell, and the dead men—who represent the spirits of ancestors—rise up and go to the river and wash themselves clean. These men then ornament themselves, and come back walking with a rhythmical movement and a solemn chant; they place themselves in front of the young men, and silence ensues. Four old priests now appear; the first carries a cooked ham wrapped in leaves, but his hands do not touch the food; the second carries baked pork in a similar manner; the third has a cup full of water; and the fourth bears a napkin of native cloth. The food and water are applied to the lips of each of the novices in succession, and he takes a little. The fourth priest wipes the mouth of each with his napkin. The chief priest now instructs them as to their duties, and enjoins them not to divulge anything of what they have seen or done. The young have thus passed through their first novitiate; in token of welcome, presents are now given to them by all the celebrants. On the following morning the women are summoned, and, according to custom, they crawl on hands and knees through the first two enclosures into the presence of the chief priest and the elders. The chief priest sprinkles them with water from the sacred bowl, and makes a prayer

to the ancestral spirits for the mothers and their children. The women now return in the same way as they came. When they have emerged from the enclosures, the men there rush upon them, and a scene of much licence ensues. The initiated of the first and second year are now daubed all over with black paint, and in each hand they carry a green bough. The old priest puts himself at the head of them, and all who have been participants in the ceremonies go down to the river and wash themselves clean; the chief priest, seated on the river bank, now further instructs them—tells them about the customs of the tribe, and their own duties as tribesmen; that they must not eat the best of the yams, but must be content with the commoner kinds of animal and vegetable food, and must bring the fresh-water fish and the eels to the old men; any violation of these rules will be punished by the gods. This ends the rite of initiation.

The *vale tambu*—the sacred house—is used on special occasions for the rite of circumcision. When any great man is dangerously ill a family council agrees that his own or his brother's son shall be circumcised as a 'soro,' or propitiatory offering, for his recovery. Other lads offer themselves for circumcision along with him. They are there circumcised, and their foreskins are carried by the priest in cleft reeds to the Nanga, and the priest, holding these in his hands, offers them to the gods, and prays for the sick man's recovery.

I have quoted these examples at considerable length, because they all throw important light on the ceremonies of our Bora, and they all belong to black races like our own. I now return to the African ceremonies.

The essential idea prominent in the negro ceremony of initiation is that of death and a new birth—a regeneration. Hence the catechumen, before he proceeds to the groves, gives away all his property and effects, as if about to die to the world, and, on the completion of his novitiate, when he returns to his kindred, he pretends to forget all his past life, and to know neither father nor mother, nor relations, nor former friends. His is a new life. His whole aspect is that of a new man, for he is now differently attired, and, as a badge of his new rank, he wears a collar of leopards' teeth round his neck. During the five years of his training, the probationer is attended by some old and experienced devotees, who act as his instructors. They teach him the ritual of their religion, various songs and pieces of poetry, mostly in praise of their chief god, and, in particular, he learns from them a dance of a frenzied kind. While this course of education is proceeding, the king frequently visits the groves, and examines the candidates. When their training is sufficiently advanced, they receive each a new name, and, as a token of their regeneration, several long wounds, which afterwards become permanent scars, are made on their neck and shoulders. They are now conducted to some retired place at a distance, where women may attend them. Here, their religious education being already complete, they are instructed in those principles of morals and politics which will make them useful as members of the State, and fit to act as judges in civil and criminal causes. This done, they leave the groves and their tutors, and, with their new badges of perfection upon them, they exhibit their magical powers in public by means of a stick driven into the ground, with a bundle of reeds at its top, or they repair to the public assembly, and join in the solemn dances of the wise men or in the duties of civic rulers.

The aboriginal races of India also have observances similar to those of the African negroes; for, among some of the Dravidian tribes of Central India, "persons desiring to enter the priesthood are required to retire for some days to the jungle, and commune in solitude with the deity. Before they are confirmed

in their office they are expected to perform some marvellous act as evidence of their having acquired superhuman power." In another tribe, the novice "retires to the jungle, and there remains alone and without clothing for eight days, during which time he performs certain purificatory rites. On the eighth day he returns, and enters upon the discharge of his duties." So far the negroes of Upper Guinea and the tribes of the Dekkan.

I now turn to Australia; and there, when a boy approaches the age of puberty, a feeling of restless anticipation spreads over his mind, for he knows that his opening manhood has brought him to the threshold of ceremonies of mysterious import, through which he is to be formally received into the tribe, and thereby to acquire the dignity of a man. The rites of initiation are important, numerous, and prolonged; and, as his admission does not concern himself or his family merely but the whole tribe, these observances call together large assemblages, and are the occasion of general rejoicing.

This assembly—the most solemn and unique in the tribal life—is called the *Bora*. The whole proceedings are essentially the same everywhere in their general features and teachings, but the details vary among the different tribes. Therefore, instead of a separate narrative for each tribe, I will endeavour to present a full view of the *Bora*, taking one tribal mode as the basis of my description, but introducing from the other tribes such features as appear to me needed to complete the significance of the ceremonies.

The chiefs of the tribule know that some boys are of an age to be initiated; they accordingly summon to them the public messenger or herald, and bid him inform the other sections of the tribe that a *Bora* will be held at a certain time and place, the time being near full moon, and the place being usually a well-known *Bora-ground*; they also send him away to invite the neighbouring tribes to attend. This invitation is readily accepted; for, although the tribes may be at variance with each other, universal brotherhood prevails among the blacks at such a time as that. The day appointed for the gathering is, perhaps, a month or two distant, and the intervening time is filled with busy preparations by the leading men of the novices' tribule. They select a suitable piece of ground near water if possible, and level for convenience in sitting or lying on. Two circular enclosures are then formed and cleared of all timber, even of every blade of grass—a larger and a smaller, with a straight track connecting them. The smaller and sacred circle is about a quarter of a mile up the ridge, and out of sight of the other, and in those that I have examined the path between is due east and west, or nearly so. The trees that grow around the smaller circle they carve, perhaps up to twenty feet from the ground, with curious emblematical devices and figures. The circuit of each ring is defined by a slight mound of earth laid around, and, in the centre of the larger one, they fix a short pole with a bunch of emu feathers on the top of it. When these arrangements are completed the ceremonies should begin, but there is often considerable delay. The cause of such delay will appear from the words of a friend of mine:—"We had some young blacks in our house, fifty years ago, and the older blacks would come to us, and ask us to allow these lads to go off for a time to be made 'boombat.' Sometimes the boys would be away for the best part of a year. Sometimes the old men would bring back the boys in a short time, saying that things were not ready for the *Bora*, that the other blacks were slow in coming up, and so forth, and that the ceremonies could not go on then; but usually all the men, the lads, and the 'jins' went off together on their way to the appointed place of meeting. At night time, wherever they camped, several

of the men would go out in different directions and make frightsome noises all around, scaring the 'jins' almost out of their wits, and awing the boys. Thus matters would go on until they reached the big camp of assembly." A large concourse is there. The men stand with their bodies painted in stripes of colour, chiefly red and white. The women, who are permitted to be present at the opening ceremony only, are lying prone on the ground all round the larger ring, and are covered all over with rugs and cloaks.

The boy, painted red all over—I say boy, but several boys may be initiated at once,—the boy is brought forward, and made to lie down in the middle of the ring, and covered with an opossum rug. Such of the old men as have been appointed masters of the ceremonies now begin to throw him into a state of fear and awe by sounding an instrument called *tirrikoty*, similar to what an English boy calls a 'bull-roarer.' In Central Africa, a whistle is used similarly as a sacred instrument, and something similar seems also to have been used in the mysteries of ancient Greece. In Australia the men use *tirrikoty* on all occasions when they wish to frighten the women and the boys, who cower with fear whenever they hear it. "On one occasion," said a friend to me, "a number of blacks were working in the corn-field, near the Barrington River. A little boy began to sound his toy 'bull-roarer.' The blacks all took to their heels. A few, however, rushed up to him and said, 'Bail ('no') you do that; that's one of our gods.'" It is not lawful for anyone to handle it except those who have been initiated at the Bora. It is made of a piece of thin wood or of the bark of a tree. It is 9 to 12 inches long, and is sometimes shaped and marked so as to make it look like a fish. The roaring sound is supposed to be the voice of a dreaded evil spirit, who prowls about the camp of the blacks at night and carries off and tears and devours those he can seize. When the performers think that the 'boombat' (so they call the novice) has been sufficiently impressed, *tirrikoty* ceases to speak. They then raise the boy from the ground, and set him in the middle of the ring in such a manner that his face is turned towards the cleared track which leads to the circle of imagery. Then an old man comes forward, breathes strongly in his face, and makes him cast his eyes upon the ground; for in this humble attitude he must continue for some days.

Two other old men next take the boy by the arms and lead him along the track, and set him in the middle of the other enclosure. As soon as this is done the women rise from their prostrate position, and begin to dance and sing. The Murringgari tribe, on our south-east coast, place along this track or path some figures, moulded in earth, of various animals (*totems*), and one of Dharamulan, a spirit-god whom they reverence. Before each of these figures the devotees have a dance; and a 'karáji,' medicine man or doctor, brings up, through his mouth, apparently from his stomach, the 'joea' or magic of the *totem* before which they then stand. For the porcupine, he shows stuff like chalk, for the kangaroo stuff like glass, and so on. Meanwhile, the boy has been sitting in the smaller circle with downcast eyes. He is told to rise, and is led in succession to each of the carved trees around it, and is made to look up for a moment at the carvings on them, and, while he does so, the old men raise a shout. When he has come to know all the carvings sufficiently, the men give him a new name, which *must not* be revealed to the uninitiated, and they hand to him a little bag containing one or more small stones of crystal quartz. This bag he will always carry about his person, and the stones must not be shown to the uninitiated on pain of death. This concludes the first part of the performance.

A fire is kept constantly burning in the centre of this upper ring. The boy is made to lie within the ring prone on the ground for weeks, it may be, getting only a very little food and water now and then. When he wishes to go outside, the old men *carry* him over the raised border of the ring. One black boy told me that, when he was initiated, he joined the assembled crowd in the month of August, and did not get away till about Christmas. When the men in charge of the sacred circle at last bade him rise from his recumbent position, he said he was so weak that he staggered and fell. He says that he was kept two or three weeks among the women at the lower circle, because the other young men from the tribe were not ready, and had not come up; that the women there lie flat, covered up with opossum cloaks, sheets of bark, and the like, and dare not look up; that the 'boombat' is among them, painted all over with ruddle; that a black man keeps running round the outside of the circle sounding *tirrikoty*; that the 'boombat' is then taken from among the women into the centre of the circle and kept there a short time—perhaps a quarter of an hour—and is then led away to the upper circle, where the old men are. All this while the 'boombat' keeps his eyes cast upon the ground, and must not look up. On approaching the sacred circle, he was told now to look up at each of the marked trees and then look down again. My informant said: "When I was put within the ring I was made lie down, covered over, and kept lying there on the ground for three months; several times I tried to peep out, but nearly lost my life for it, for they threatened to kill me with spears; other boys are not kept so long as three months; the old men regulate the time according to the strength of the boy." All this is additional evidence corroborating the information I got from other quarters; for a considerable portion of what I now tell about the Bora is new, and comes from my own investigations.

The 'boombat' is next conveyed, blindfolded, to a large camp, at a distance of several miles, no woman being near, and food is given to him, which he eats still with his eyes cast down; here they keep him for eight or ten days, and teach him their tribal lore by showing him their dances and their songs; these he learns, especially one song, of which I can tell nothing further than that it is important for the boy to know it. These songs, they say, were given to them by Bayemai, the great Creator. At night, during this period, the 'boombat' is set alone in secluded and darksome places, and all around him the men make hideous noises, at which he must not betray the least sign of fear. At some part of the ceremony a sacred wand is shown to him. Of this, Ridley says:—"This old man, Billy, told me, as a favour, what other blacks had withheld as a mystery too sacred to be disclosed to a white man, that 'dhurumbulum,' a stick or wand, is exhibited at the Bora, and that the sight of it inspires the initiated with manhood. This sacred wand was the gift of Baiamai. The ground on which the Bora is celebrated is Baiamai's ground. Billy believes the Bora will be kept up always all over the country; such was the command of Baiamai."

Another conspicuous part of the inner Bora customs is the knocking out of one or more of the upper front teeth of the 'boombat.' This is effected by a smart blow on a wooden punch applied to the teeth. But the older and more correct way seems to have been for one of the old men to apply his lower teeth to the upper front teeth of the young man; if that failed, the mallet and punch were used. "On one occasion," says my friend, "a black boy in our service came back to us from the Bora; I observed that his tooth was not out, and I asked him why. 'Oh,' said he, 'old Boney no good; he tried three times and nearly broke his own teeth; and so he gave it up.'"

As to the tooth itself, one account says that it is given to the lad's mother, and she afterwards burns it; another says that it is conveyed from one sub-tribe to another until it has made the circuit of the whole tribe; on its return, it is given to the owner or kept by the head man. This tooth-breaking, however, is not practised by some of the larger tribes; but, instead of it, there is circumcision or the cutting off of the hair.

All these formalities being now completed, the 'boombat's' probation is at an end. They now proceed, all of them together, to some large waterhole, and, jumping in, men and boys, they wash off the colouring matter from their bodies, amid much glee and noise and merriment, and when they have come out of the water they paint themselves white.

Meanwhile, the women who have been called to resume their attendance, have kindled a large fire not far off, and are lying around it, with their faces on the ground and their bodies covered as at the first; the two old men who were the original initiators bring the boy at a run towards the fire, followed by all the others, with voices indeed silent, but making a noise by beating their 'bumarangs' together; the men join hands and form a ring round the fire, and one old man runs round the inside of the ring beating a shield. A woman, usually the boy's own mother, then steps within the ring, and, catching him under the arms, lifts him from the ground once, sets him down, and then retires; every man present, the boy included, now jumps upon the decaying red embers, until the fire is extinguished.

In corroboration of all this, I give the following statement made to me by a friend who, from his boyhood, was familiar with the Kurringgai tribe and its habits:—

"After the ceremonies at the upper circle are completed the men remove to a flat piece of ground a long way off; here a fire has been kindled at a distance of perhaps 100 yards from a deep water-course, in which a considerable number of blacks can hide. The 'boombat,' that is, the newly initiated lad, is carried to this spot blindfolded, and he is persuaded that he gets there by flying through the air; 'but,' said one of them to me, 'I looked out from under my bandage, and I saw I was not flying.' The fire on the flat is a large one; it has been kindled early in the morning, and the 'jins' seat themselves on an elevated slope near by as spectators of what is to follow. A favoured few of their white friends may also sit among them. After a while, a party of men, painted white, red, yellow, emerge from their concealment in the ravine, and run into view from one quarter, and advance towards the fire; all the while each man beats together two weapons in rhythm, two 'bumarangs,' or a spear and a 'bumarang,' or a spear and a club, and so on. They come on in single file to the sound of this music, and, when near the fire, they move on and on till they form a complete circle around it; they then face inwards, make a loud crashing noise simultaneously—and disperse. Upon this, another band, from another quarter, similarly come in and do likewise. When all the bands have thus encompassed the fire in succession, the 'jins' arise, descend from the heights, and lay themselves prone in a circle round the fire, and are carefully covered up with cloaks, blankets, and the like; they dare not look up, for several blacks with spears in hand are running round outside the circle of prostrate women, ready to kill them if they should dare to look. A white woman, who, on one occasion, had come with her black servant to see the sights, was compelled to go and lie down also. When the women are all properly placed, a band of blacks, perhaps a hundred in number, with the 'boombats' among them, suddenly come out of the ravine. The 'boombats' have had their hair cut short, and can thus be recognised. All the men in this band have

weapons in their two hands, and strike them together as before, but their weapons, their bodies, and their hair are all painted white. They too approach the fire shouting, 'boom,' 'boom,' 'boom,' and moving their bodies to and fro, as in a 'karabari' dance. When they have formed themselves into a complete circle, they join hands, and move round the fire two or three times. The women are still lying on the ground between the circle and the fire. They now rise up at command, and, with head bent, they pass outwards under the outstretched arms. Then the men in white—'white as cockatoos'—take hold of the 'boombats,' rush in, all leap upon the fire, which, by this time, has died down considerably, raising a column of smoke of dust, until the fire is wholly stamped out. The men in white now take the 'boombats' back to the ravine, and leave them there in charge of two of their relatives. The men in white return to their post, and the previous performers, with the party-coloured bodies, rush in upon the white men; a general conflict ensues—apparently a real fight, for 'bumarangs' and other weapons are thrown about—but this does not last long."

After all this is over, the two men—the father and the uncle perhaps—to whom the 'boombats' were committed take them away into the thick forest, and keep them there for many weeks, training them, and testing their fitness for tribal occupations. When the young man is at last allowed to join his kindred, he is addressed as 'boombat,' and does not get his tribal name till some time after.

Thus end the ceremonies of the Bora. The youth become a man; for his initiation and his instruction are over. But, although these are the formalities observed in admitting a youth into the tribe, yet, in the Bora, as in freemasonry, the novice does not become a full member all at once, but must pass through several grades, and these are obtained by attending a certain number of Boras. Here also, as in Africa, restrictions as to food are imposed, which are relaxed from time to time, until at last the youth is permitted to eat anything he may find. Thus the process of qualifying for a full membership may extend over two or three years. Then he becomes an acknowledged member of the tribe, undertakes all the duties of membership, and has a right to all its privileges.

I have thus finished my description of the Bora ceremonies, and with them correspond the similar observances in Africa, in India, and in Fiji, of which I gave a condensed account as a sort of introduction to the Bora.

Now when I cast my eye over the Bora and its regulated forms, I feel myself constrained to ask, "What does all this mean?" I, for one, cannot believe that the Bora, with all its solemnities—for the rites were sacred, and the initiated were bound not to divulge what they had seen and done—is a meaningless, self-developed thing; still less that the same thing can have developed spontaneously in Australia, in Fiji, in India, and in farthest Africa. I prefer to see in it a symbolism covering ancestral beliefs, a symbolism intelligible enough to the Kushite race at first, but now little understood and yet superstitiously observed by their Australian descendants.

Accordingly, I now proceed to what I regard as the most important part of this inquiry; for I shall attempt to show that, in many respects, the Bora corresponds with the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient world. If I can prove that the germ ideas which underlie the Australian Bora, as it has been, and still is, celebrated among our indigenes, are the same as those in many religions of antiquity, and that these same ideas present themselves in ceremonies of similar import among nations now widely separated in place,

I think that we have then established a strong presumption that there is a common source from which all these things have sprung, and that there is a community of origin from which this community of belief springs.

I now offer such analogies as my limited knowledge permits me to refer to:—

(A.) In the Bora there are two circles; the one is less sacred, for the women may be present there, although only on the outskirts; in it certain preparatory things are done to bring the 'boombat's' mind into a fit state of reverential awe for the reception of the teaching in the other circle—the *adytum*, the *penetralia*,—where the images of the gods are to be seen. The women and the uninitiated must not approach this other circle; it is thrice holy; "*procul este, profani*."

(a.) In the earliest religions, the circle is the invariable symbol of the sun, the bright and pure one, from whose presence darkness and every evil thing must flee away. Thus we have the disc as the symbol of the sun-god in Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Persia, India, China, and elsewhere. This fact is so well known that it is needless to multiply examples. Those who are within the circle are safe from the powers of evil. The sacredness of the circle in those early ages is obvious from the Chaldæan name (Genesis, xxxi, 47) "the circle of witness"—a name given to a solemn compact of friendship, witnessed by that celestial orb which looks down on and observes all the deeds of men. In Persia, at this day, in the southern parts of it, which were originally inhabited by a Hamite race of a negroid type, there are to be seen on the roadsides large circles of stones, which the tradition of the country regards as set there by the Caous, a race of giants, that is, of aboriginals. Then, in the classic nations, both in Greece and Italy, some of the most famous and ancient temples were circular in form, especially the Pantheon at Athens, and at Rome the temple of Vesta, the goddess of the sun-given, eternal fire. At Rome, also, for a hundred years from the foundation of the city, the worship of the gods was celebrated in the open air (*cf.* the Bora), often in sacred groves; and there also the temple of Janus, the oldest and most venerated of the Roman gods, was merely a sacred enclosure on which no building stood till the time of the First Punic War. The *pomerium*, or circuit of the walls of Rome, was a sacred ring, and the Circus was consecrated to the sun. In Britain too, the fire-worship of the Druids led them to construct ring-temples in various places, and especially at Stonehenge, where there are two rings, as in the Bora, but concentric. Even the rude Laplanders, who are sprung from the same Turanian race, which was one of the earliest elements in the population of Babylonia, make two circles when they sacrifice to the sun, and surround them with willows; they also draw a white thread through the ear of the animal to be sacrificed; and white, as we shall presently see, is the sun's livery.

(B.) In the Bora, the two rings, both of them sacred, communicate with each other by means of a narrow passage, in which are earthen representations of certain objects of worship; the upper contains the images* or symbols of the gods carved on trees, and the novice is so placed in the outer ring that he faces the passage and the shrine of the gods, and thus faces the east; for this passage, as I have said, runs east and west.

(c.) The inner shrine is an arrangement common to all religions. At Babylon, in the temple of Belus, which was built in stages, the worshipper had to pass through these seven stages of Sabæism before he reached the shrine. This was the topmost of all, and contained a golden image of the

* One tree, at a Bora ground which I examined, had on it a carving of an *iguana*, flanked by two men, its guardians.

god. Each of these stages was devoted to the worship of one of the Babylonian gods. So also in the Bora, the worshipper advances by stages along the passage leading from the one circle to the other, and pays his devotions to each of the images in succession. In Greece and in Rome, the roofed temples were commonly arranged in two parts, an inner and an outer, and the statue of the god was so placed that a worshipper, entering by the external door, saw it right before him. At the very ancient temple of Dodonæan Zeus, in Greece, the god was supposed to reside in an oak-tree, and it is quite possible that the *xoanon*, or wooden image of the god, was here, as in other grove worship, merely a carved piece of wood, as in the Bora; and in this sense Festus gives *fustis decorticatus* as an equivalent for *delubrum*. The student of Biblical archæology will also remember the Asherah of the Israelite idolaters—the consort of the sun god Baal. This was a pillar or statue of the goddess, but of wood, for it could be cut down and burned. Such a pillar our blackfellows also have been known to erect; for, on one occasion, several men of a tribule, and at a spot which is well known to me, were seen to cut down a soft cedar. This happened, too, while a Bora was going on. They dressed it with their hatchets, and cut one end of it into the rude figure of a head and face. They then carried it some distance down the river to a sandy spot, and setting it up there like a pillar, they danced in a circle around it. This was certainly an act of worship, the same as many other acts of worship in the heathen world. A friend of mine knows of a similar incident that occurred on another of our rivers, far off from this one. Was it merely a happy thought on the part of these blackfellows, or an undesigned coincidence, that led them to do these things? or was it a portion of an ancestral form of worship, brought from other lands?

(C.) In the Bora, the novice in the outer circle has his body painted all over with red, but at the close of his novitiate, he washes in a pool, is thereby cleansed, and then paints himself all white. The other celebrants paint themselves red and white for the ceremony. They, too, at the close wash in a pool, and retire white like the 'boombat.' This transformation is to them a cause of much rejoicing.

(c.) Among the black races the colour red was the symbol of evil; and so Plutarch tells us that the Egyptians sacrificed only red bullocks to Typhon, and that the animal was reckoned unfit for this sacrifice if a single white or black hair could be found on it. In certain of their festivals, the Egyptians assailed with insults and revilings any among them who happened to have red hair, and the people of Coptos there had a custom of throwing an ass down a precipice because of its red colour. The god Typhon was to the Egyptians the embodied cause of everything evil, malignant, destructive, man-hating, in the economy of nature (*cf.* the Persian Ahriman), just as Osiris, the bright and beneficent sun, was an emblem of all that was good. In the Levitical law, the new heifer was a sin-offering for the Israelites, probably with some reference to the ideas of the Egyptians about that colour. In India, Ganesa, the lord of all mischievous and malignant spirits, is symbolised by red stones; and the Cingalese, when they are sick, offer a red cock to the evil spirit that has caused the sickness. The blacks of Congo wash and anoint a corpse, and then paint it red; and their black brethren in Madagascar, when they are celebrating the rite of circumcision, never wear anything red about them, lest the child should bleed to death. The negroes of Upper Guinea—far enough removed from Australian Borus to prevent even a suspicion of borrowing—make a similar use of the colours red and white; for, in Benin there, when a woman is first initiated into the rites

which the Babylonians sanctioned in honour of their goddess Mulitta, she seats herself on a mat in a public place, and covers her head, shoulders, and arms, with the blood of a fowl; she then retires for her devotions, and, these being finished, she washes herself, returns, and is rubbed all over with white chalk where the blood has been. The young ladies of Congo (also a black country) have a similar custom; but they besmear their faces and necks with red paint.

In Australia, those who pass through the Bora paint themselves white at its close. Everywhere in Australia there is the belief that the black man, when he is dead and buried, still lives; but he is then white. Our indigènes say, "Black man dead jumps up white fellow;" hence a white man is called 'wunda,' a word which originally described only the black man in his spirit state after death. The father of a friend of mine was the first white man to enter, some sixty years ago, the territory of a black tribe near to where I lived. It so happened that the tribe had just lost their chief by death; and so, as the white man whom they saw coming over the crest of the hill towards their camp bore some physical resemblance to the deceased, they soon got to hail him as their chief returned to them in the 'wunda' state, and to this hour they claim that white man's son as one of themselves, a brother!

Now, in the ancient rituals, white was the colour sacred to the sun—the benign god before whom darkness flies away. In India, white agates represent Siva, the eternal cause of all blessings; in Persia, white horses were sacred to the sun; in Celtic Britain, some of the Welsh people, even now, whiten their houses to keep away devils; and so with many other examples in Aryan lands. "I said to King Sewa at Talaber, on the Niger," so writes Mr. W. Winwood Reade, "if I die may my blood be on your head." "Ah, take care; take care," said he, "you have had evil thoughts against me, and that is why you are ill. Do you see that fetich behind you? That is a spirit who protects me from your evil designs." I looked round, and saw in a corner by the bed, some long sticks, which, oddly enough, I had never noticed before. They were daubed all over with some clammy white stuff, and Sewa, it seems, had ordered this fetich to be put into the house in case I tried to bewitch him."

In these senses, the 'boombat' enters the Bora with the brand of Typhon upon him, exposed to all evil influences, to disease and death from animals, men, and spirits; but, after he has made the acquaintance of his father's gods, and has learned the sacred songs and dances of his tribe, he comes forth another man; he washes away the badge of darkness and evil, and assumes the livery of the children of light.

This felt subjection to unseen evil and aspirations for deliverance from it in the minds of our native race, is not only natural to man everywhere, but was a marked feature in the whole system of Akkadian magic; for those old Chaldeans believed that innumerable spirits, each with a personality, were distributed throughout nature; sometimes in union with animate objects, sometimes separately. Existing everywhere, they had both an evil and a good aspect—at one time favourable, at another unfavourable, controlling both life and death; regulating all phenomena, whether beneficial or destructive, both of air and earth, fire and water. A dual spirit—bad and good—was allocated to each of the celestial bodies, and to each living being. A constant warfare existed and was keenly maintained between the bad and the good; and, according as the one principle or the other held sway, so did blessings or disasters descend upon nature and upon man. Hence the value

of religious rites such as the Bora; for the due observance of these, repeated from time to time, gave, for a while at least, the victory to the good spirits, and brought blessings to the faithful. Thus, then, I explain the red colour of the novice at the Bora, the red and white of the celebrants, and the white colour of the men when the service was completed.

(D.) Ridley says that the Bora is Bayemai's ground. He adds:—"Baiamai sees all; he knows all; if not directly, yet through Turramulan, a subordinate deity. Turramulan is mediator for all the operations of Baiamai to man, and from man to Baiamai. Women must not see Turramulan on pain of death. And when mention is made of Turramulan, or of the Bora at which he presides, the women slink away, knowing that it is unlawful for them so much as to hear anything about such matters."

(d.) We have seen that, at some places, an image of Dharamulan is set up at the Bora. In another place, the bull-roaring instrument, whose voice begins the ceremony of the Bora and warns the women not to look, is called *tirrikoty*, and is sometimes made in the shape of a fish. The magic wand that Ridley mentions is called *dhurumbulum*, and the great ancestral Bora ground of the Kamalarai tribe in New South Wales is at *Tirri-hai-hai*. The source of all these names seems to me to be *dara, dri*,—a very old language root, meaning 'to protect,' from which come words in various languages, meaning 'a prince,' 'a lord.' I therefore take *Dharamulan* to mean something like "Lord of the mysteries;" for it is evident that he presides at the Bora, and is the giver of the blessings therein communicated. The use of a fish-shaped roarer to indicate his presence leads me to compare him with the Chaldean god *Hoa, Hea*—half man, half fish—who, in the Chaldeo-Babylonian religion, was revered as the revealer of all religious and social knowledge. His abode was the sea—the Persian Gulf—where he passed the night, but by day he remained among men to instruct them. Thus he became a legislator and protector. *Hea*, as a god, sees that "all is in order," and, being acquainted with all sciences, he can baffle the powers of evil by his magic arts. With this I compare the 'magic' shown by the 'karaji' in the Bora in the presence of Dharamulan's image. The Akkadians, and from them the Babylonians, invoked the aid of *Hea*, when spells and incantations were found unavailing against the demons. So in the Bora passage, when Dharamulan has been duly honoured and magic influence conjured up for the driving away of all adverse spirits, the lad is taken into the upper circle and sees there the gods of his fathers, and learns to know them and their attributes, just as in the greater Eleusinia of Greece the duly qualified were, after a course of previous preparation, led into the inner sanctuary in the darkness of night, and there, by a dim light, allowed to see and know the holy things.

(E.) The next steps in the process of initiation are interesting:—(1) a sacred wand is shown to the 'boombat'; (2) he gets a new name; and (3) certain white stones are given to him.

(e.) (1.) *The wand*.—In this there is a notion of consecration and sacredness; for, on the Egyptian monuments, the deities are constantly represented as holding in one hand a long rod or wand, with a crook on the upper end of it. The king also, and some of the higher officers of State, carry this 'crook.' In India, we find that Yama, the regent of the south, has a name from a sacred staff or rod, and some religious impostors wear, as badges of sanctity, a staff and a deer's skin. The Magi of Persia carried the '*bareçma*' or '*barsom*,' a divining wand, as one of the badges of their ministry, and the magicians of Egypt similarly had rods in their hands when

they stood in the presence of Pharaoh. The traditions of Peru speak of a sacred golden wand borne by the son and the daughter of the Sun. These are analogies; but the nearest approach to the use of the wand in the Bora is, I think, to be found in the Finnish Kalevala, where there is a reference to a "celebrated wand"—evidently, as in Peru, a sun wand—which protects its possessor from all spells and enchantments; even the gods are glad to use it against the powers of evil.

(2.) *A new name.*—Having now acquired a knowledge of sacred things, the initiated is henceforth a new man; he is now 'twice born,' and, like his kinsman in Upper Guinea already mentioned, he will come out to the world in a new character, renouncing his former estate. In India, a youth becomes one of the 'twice born' by investiture with the sacred cord, receiving thus a spiritual birth; thereafter, like our 'boombat,' he passes into the hands of religious preceptors, who teach him the sacred prayers, mystic words, and devotional ceremonies. In more modern times, whenever a monastic house or a nunnery receives, from the world without, one more recluse, a new name is given by which he or she may thenceforward be known in religion. The underlying idea in all these instances is, that a religious profession gives one a new character and a new relation to the rest of the world. And who will deny that this is true, whether the professor be black or white?

(3.) *The white stones.*—I am inclined to believe that the 'boombat' receives only one or two of these at a time, and that the number of them is increased according to the number of Boras he attends, until he becomes a full and accepted master of the craft, and thus needs no more. In any case they are used as talismans, and are carried in his waist belt during the whole of the man's life. A 'karaji,' in the presence of a friend of mine, swallowed three or four small ones, saying, "That fellow stick there." He believed that the crystals, remaining in his stomach, would give him more power as a medicine man. The negroes of Guinea use small stones as fetiches, and they carry them about their necks or under their armpits. These stones are sold to them by the priest, after being formally consecrated. The white colour is a sun colour. It is beneficent and preservative against evil, as already shown; hence the Hindoos dedicate white stones to Siva, the eternally blessed one.

(F.) The initiated lad is next led to a camp at a distance; he is kept there for eight or ten days receiving instruction, especially in songs and dances; he also eats here, and his confidence in divine protection is tested by hideous noises during the darkness of night.

(f.) It is rather singular, as a coincidence, that Festus speaks of certain religious ceremonies in Rome as lasting ten days, and that the Dionysia and the greater Eleusinia of Greece also lasted nine or ten days, and that part of these Grecian ceremonies was a solemn meal and a solemn bathing or purification by water; thereafter instruction was given. So also, a young Brahman must reside with his preceptor for some time, until he has acquired a thorough knowledge of the sacred books; he must pass through certain purificatory rites, which remove the taint of former sin; one of these is the cutting off of the hair, and with this corresponds the cutting off of the hair in the Bora, or the knocking out of the front teeth, as practised by some of our tribes. The singing and the dancing are everywhere essential parts of pagan worship, and the dance is, in its origin, religious.

(G.) Then come the washing and purification which I have just spoken of; but, after that, they join hands all round, dance round the fire and jump into it and through it.

(g.) Analogies to this way of purification and protection by fire are abundant. In Bretagne, at this hour, the French farmers protect their horses from evil influences by the service of fire. They kindle fires at night-fall; then, at dawn of day, the horses are led thrice around the fires, and a particular prayer, known only to a few, is said before the dying flame. As the last words are pronounced, the men all leap on the embers with their feet joined. The ancient British Celts, to which stock these same Bretons belong, did much the same thing; for on May Day the Druids used to light large fires on the summits of the highest hills, into which they drove all four-footed beasts, using certain ceremonies to expiate the sins of the people. Until very lately, it was a common practice in different parts of Ireland to kindle fires in the milking yards on the first day of May, and then many women and children leaped through them, and the cattle were driven through in order to drive off evil influences. In ancient Rome, on the feast of Pales, in April, the same forms of purification and dedication were observed. The Hottentots of the present day retain the old customs, for they make their cattle pass through the fire as a preservative against the attacks of wild dogs. In India, the youth, when about to be invested with the sacred thread, stands with his face to the sun, and walks thrice round a fire; and, in the marriage ceremony, the bride is led thrice round a sacred fire. An incantation, used by the Chaldean sorcerers of old, has these words, "May the God Fire, the hero, dispel their enchantments or spells for the injury of others." An Australian 'jin,' going to the river to fetch water after nightfall, carries for protection a burning stick; and the men in the camp at night, when they think an evil spirit is near, throw firebrands at him to drive him away. Should we wonder, then, that our Australian blackfellows, if, as I believe, their ancestors first of all came from Chaldean land, have not forgotten the fire observances, and still trust in the protection of a fire god?

So far the Bora and its analogies. I have thus considered at some length these institutions, both because the Bora is the most important of all the social regulations of our aboriginal tribes, and because its universal distribution among them, although with slight local differences in the manner of its celebration, seems to me a strong proof that our black tribes are all brethren of the same race, and that they are of the same origin as the rest of mankind, their closest kindred being the blacks of Africa. Is it possible that so many tribes, with so many different dialects, and confined by their laws and habits each to its own hunting ground, should have evolved from their own consciousness ceremonies so similar, and which, when examined, correspond in so many points with the religiousness of the ancient world? How is it that the blacks of Australia and the blacks of Guinea in Africa have similar ceremonies of initiation? Is it not because they have come from the same ethnic source, and have a common ancestry and common traditions?

Miscellaneous.

Here I wish to introduce a few particulars which are connected, more or less remotely, with the subject of this section. These are—(1), the 'karábari'; (2), astral worship; (3), the use of gesture language and masonic signs; (4), the numeration of the aborigines.

The 'Karábari' is an aboriginal name for those dances which our natives often have in the forests at night. Hitherto the name has been written 'corrobboree,' but etymologically it should be 'karabari,' for it comes from the same root as 'karáji,' a wizard or medicine man, and '-bari' is a common formative in the native languages. The 'karabari'

has been usually regarded as a form of amusement, a dance to while away the time on the moonlight nights; but the men alone engage in it, a few women sitting by and making a tap-tap accompaniment to the rhythmical movements of the performers, and from the description of a simple form of the 'karabari,' which I give in the section on the social life of the natives, it will appear that these dances partake of a semi-religious character. For them the men dress themselves with great care in their own way, and often dance all night long, and in very dark nights, too, to the light of a blazing fire. To a white onlooker they seem to be a band of demons, ghastly as the skeleton dead, working themselves up into a fit state for some act of devilry. But there cannot be much amusement in it, for the men take it quite seriously, no fun goes on, and their movements are so vigorous that the actors are covered with sweat, and at the close are completely exhausted by their efforts. And they are not mere dances, these 'karabaries,' they are imitations of the hunting of the kangaroo, and of the way in which the emu and other food animals are killed. In short, I regard them as semi-religious dances, by which our blacks, after the custom of their ancestors, pray for success in getting food. In this view I am strengthened by what I know of similar dances in Equatorial Africa. For instance, Mr. W. W. Reade says:—"In the Gorilla country, Etia, the chief hunter of the village, came and told me one evening that he had heard the cry of a *nyina* (gorilla) close to one of the neighbouring plantations. He said that we should certainly be able to kill him the next day, and that, during the night, he and his friends would celebrate the gorilla dance. . . . To the music of three old men, who had their faces grotesquely chalked, danced Etia, imitating the uncouth movements of the gorilla. Then the iron bell was rung, and O'Mburi, the evil spirit, was summoned to attend, and a hoarse rattle mingled with the other sounds. . . . Here could be no imposture. It was not an entertainment arranged for my benefit, but a religious festival, held on the eve of an enterprise. . . . The dancing was not discontinued until cock-crow."

It is true that a 'karabari' dance sometimes appears to us no more than an amusing pantomime; for our blacks are very clever mimics—many of them most amusing fellows, when one comes to be familiar with them; as, for example, when they got up a 'karabari' on the estate of my friend Mr. M'I., and invited him to see it, knowing, as they did, that he was always good-natured and kind to them. There he saw himself personated by a blackfellow, who was made up as an excellent duplicate, even to the helmet-hat on his head. There they danced in their usual way, and made a song to tell how the white man had come from afar and taken the land from them, but that some white men were good to them, and so on. Sometimes, however, the 'karabari' pantomimes are not so complimentary as this; for a party of blacks dress themselves up as colonists, and imitate a conflict with the natives, in which, of course, the colonists are signally routed and damaged, much to the delight of the rest of the tribe who are looking on.

Astral Worship. As to astral worship, our native tribes are attentive observers of the stars; as they sit or lie around the camp fire, after night-fall, their gaze naturally turns to the starry vault above, and there they see the likeness of many things with which they are conversant in their daily life—young men dancing a 'karabari' (Orion), and a group of damsels looking at them (the Pleiades), and making music to their dance—the opossum, the emu, the crow, and so on. But the old men will tell you that the regions "above the sky" are the home of the spirits of the dead, and that there are shady fig-trees there, and many other pleasant things. Many

men of their race are there, and that one of the foremost of them all is a great man, Menee: he is not visible, but they all agree that he is in the sky. A greater than he is the great Gharabooing, who, while on earth, was always attended by a small man; but now the two shine as comrades in the sky—the “Heavenly Twins.” Both Gharabooing and Menee are “skeletons,” they say. In his mortal state, Gharabooing was a man of great rank and power; he was so tall that his feet could touch the bottom of the deepest rivers; his only food was snakes and eels. One day, not being hungry, he buried a snake and an eel; when he came back to eat them, he saw fire issuing from the ground where they were; he was warned by his companion, the little man, not to approach, but he declared he did not fear the fire, and boldly came near; then a whirlwind seized him and carried him “above the sky,” where he and his companion still are, and “can be seen any starry night.”

There is no worship in that, only respect and reverence towards ancestors; but the next story, which I give in the words of a friend, contains an example of the religious exorcism of an astral phenomenon portending evil:—“In 1845 or 1846, a comet appeared, and the blacks at Dungog acted a special ‘karabari’ on account of it. The only explanation I could get from them was that the ‘karabari’ was held because of the appearance of the comet. There was a performance three times a day, and each performance had two acts in it. In the background, at the spot where the performances took place, three sheets of bark were set up, the one in the centre being larger than either of the other two, and all three having devices painted on them, similar to those on the trees around the upper Bora circle. In front of these sheets of bark were the performers arranged in a straight line, and painted as is usual for a ‘karabari’; at some considerable distance behind these was a line of several fires, and behind the fires sat the ‘jins’ who were to give the music, and behind them the spectators. In each act the men danced ‘karabari’ for a while, and, at a time when the attention of the spectators was fastened on the acting, two blacks, curiously painted, rushed out suddenly from some hiding-place, and placed themselves, motionless, in a crouching attitude, with staring eyes and pointed finger, right in front of the fires. These were called the two ‘ghútas.’ This performance lasted about a week, probably as long as native food could be procured for all, and then the blacks moved on and taught their next neighbours the songs and the performance. The whole affair must have come from a distance; for the words of the songs were strange to our men, resembling those of the Kamalarai dialect, and it was the Paterson blacks who came and taught it to the Dungog blacks.”

The two ‘ghútas’, as I think, were ‘karajies’, exorcising the evil portended by the coming of the comet.

Here, also, I introduce another friend, who has a curious tale to tell about doings at the Bora:—

“When travelling between Surat and Goondiwindi, about the year 1858, we came to a spot on the Mooni Creek, in the midst of scrub country, where the blacks had erected a large mound of a curious shape on an open space within the scrub. On proceeding to examine it, we found it covered with sheets of bark; these we removed to the number of forty or fifty, and then we saw that this figure resembled the body of a duck, but with the neck, head, and protruding tongue of a large snake. The body was about fifteen feet long, with a height of six or seven feet; the neck and head were ten feet long, and stood high above the ground. The body was made of boughs of trees and bushes thickly pressed together; the neck and head were a long log of suitable shape, with the one end fixed in the ground

among the boughs. The whole had been plastered over with mud, and this, when dry, had been ornamented with red and white colours in streaks and daubs. The head had also been shaped to represent the head of an angry snake, and was coloured red. The mouth of the figure was furnished with a fierce forked tongue. The ground around this curious figure, to a diameter of about fifty feet, was trodden bare as by the feet of many men.

"We were afterwards informed by the blacks near by that they had made this figure, and that they had danced a 'karabari' around it; that it was the 'dibbil-dibbil'—a demon which frequents deep water-holes, and carries off and devours those who incautiously enter. They called the figure 'wunda.' The tribes all around had assembled for this 'karabari,' and we could see numerous camps near. Mr. C—— saw a similar figure on his place about fifty miles farther down the Mooni. The blacks had been holding a Bora there."

Gesture Language. In several instances, blacks in their wild state, and in places far removed from contact with civilisation, have been known to make use of masonic signs when approached by white men.

An extract from a private letter written by a staff surveyor in Queensland and not hitherto published, is a proof of this:—"In 1882-83, on the Flinders and other rivers flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria, the blacks were very hostile, and that made me go forth with a well-armed party, consisting of 'kanakas,' principally Tanna boys—a fierce and warlike tribe—and we had frequent and severe encounters with the natives. One Sunday, when we were resting in our camp on Settlement Creek, my horses, which were feeding about twenty chains away, began to gallop about furiously—a proof to me that the blacks were among them. Taking with me six of my boys, I quickly entered the bed of the creek, and we ran down it till we were opposite the place where the horses were. Then we suddenly emerged, and found ourselves among a band of about twenty natives, who were amusing themselves by spearing my horses. The fight which ensued was short, sharp, and decisive; at the end of it only one black was left—a very tall and powerful specimen, evidently a chief. He was completely hemmed in by myself and my boys, and had hitherto escaped harmless by bounding and jumping about. I had just covered him with my rifle, and in another instant he would have dropped, when, to my utter astonishment, he gave me in rapid succession three or four times, the penal signal of a master mason, and thereupon stood to order. I instantly answered him, and, going nearer, I gave the signs of entered apprentice, fellow craftsman, and master mason, which he appeared to understand. My next five or ten minutes were fully occupied in saving him from the wrath of my boys. But when I had succeeded in making them understand that he was not to be harmed, I turned round to our captive, and found he was gone! He had dived head foremost into the very long grass, and wriggled through it like a snake; he got clean off, for not one of us could find him; I was much disappointed at this, for I wanted to question him, and through him I might have succeeded in forming friendly relations with the tribes round about. Again, some weeks thereafter, as I was returning along a creek where I had completed a survey, I turned aside to look at a spot where we had a fight with a few natives three days before when on our way down, I saw the body of one man laid out, and covered with bark; on the chalky ground round him numerous emblems were carved, some of them undoubtedly masonic signs, while others were representations of snakes, iguanas, alligators, and the like.

"Our Right Worshipful D.G.M., the Hon.^o Charles Augustus Gregory, formerly Surveyor-General of Queensland, one of our earliest explorers, told me that he also found traces of free-masonry amongst the blacks of the north-west of Queensland, although not so unmistakable as those I have now narrated."

Captain Sturt, one of our early explorers, had a somewhat similar experience sixty years ago, when he penetrated into the interior, far beyond the limit of previous discovery. He tells how he met here an old man and his sons, and then he goes on to say:—"After some time, and having conferred with his sons, he turned round and surprised me by giving me one of the masonic signs. I looked at him steadily. He repeated it, and so did his two sons. I then returned it, which seemed to please them much; the old man patting me on the shoulder and stroking down my beard. They then took their departure, making friendly signs until they were out of sight."

In the region where this incident happened to Captain Sturt, the blacks have an extensive system of gesture language, by which tribes who do not know the neighbouring languages are able to communicate with each other on a great variety of subjects. It is quite possible that this knowledge of gesture language is a portion of the instruction given to the youths of the tribes there at the Bora ceremonies; and therefore I have brought it into this section. In gesture language a considerable variety of ideas can be conveyed by the movements of the hand, and by applying it in various ways to the body; just as in our love stories, a young swain is represented as applying his right hand to the region of his heart to signify his love. It may be that Captain Sturt's adventure was only an instance of this gesture language; but I can scarcely explain the experience of Mr. Bedford, in Queensland, in the same way. I leave it unexplained.

Native Numeration. In the month of September, 1888, there were some letters in the *Times* newspaper, London, on the subject of Australian arithmetic. A distinguished authority there said "one of the clearest indications of the low mental powers of savages is that afforded by arithmetic." It seems to me that this statement is too general; for, even although the power of counting up to high numbers were wanting in a savage, it does not follow that his mental powers in general are low. Perception, cognition, and memory are mental powers; but, if Sir John Lubbock's memory were weak, and yet the cognitive and perceptive faculties remained strong and vigorous, it would be unjust to say that he is a man "of low mental powers." Colonists who have been long familiar with the blacks of Australia, with one voice, cry out against the assertion that they are of low mental power, and could give hundreds of instances to the contrary. A friend of mine who, in his boyhood fifty years ago, was much in contact with the tribe in the midst of which his father had settled, has told me that two black boys, his companions, were "out and out good chess players, taking plenty of time to study the moves, and showing great patience and calmness; these boys never went to school, and yet they could count up to a thousand." It is very clear that mental power was there, in these boys, but unseen and dormant, like seed in the ground, until circumstances led to its being developed.

Sir John Lubbock also says:—"In no Australian language is there any word for five." This is not quite correct; for I know at least two large tribes (and there may be others that I do not know of), the one in Queensland, and the other in the south-east of New South Wales, which have single

words for "five," and in each case the word is formed from the native word meaning "hand." As to the general question—the counting of numbers—I believe that a careful analysis of the numerals used by the Aryan family of languages will show that the base of them is *one, two, three*, and no more. *three*, being in many religions a sacred and complete number; and that the other digits are expressed by words meaning *one-three, hand, hand-and-one, hand-and-two, two-four, one wanting, two hands*. If it should be proved that the Aryans, now the most civilised of races, originally said *one-three* for *four* why should our blackfellows be considered of low mental power because they say *two-two* for *four*? Indeed, I am inclined to think than our Australians count four in the more natural way; for they see nothing around them arranged in threes; the beasts and birds go in pairs; they themselves have two feet, two hands, two eyes, and so they count by twos. If the Australian blacks separated from the parent stock of mankind at a time when the common numeral system was limited to *one, two*, or *one, two, three*, then their case is merely one of arrested development, their environment being unfavourable after their separation; or, if they ever had a developed system of composite numbers, these have fallen into disuse through the operation of a law of nature; for their wants are few and they live so much from hand to mouth that they had no need for higher numbers. Their neighbours in Polynesia, who have plenty of fish to count, and bunches of bananas, and yams, and 'taro,' and cocoa-nuts, have developed many peculiar expressions to indicate the number of these; but our blackfellow, who is well pleased when he is able to sing of the capture of "Wakulá, boolará, bundarrá," (one, two kangaroos), and whose only property is two or three spears, clubs, 'bumarangs,' does not require to use high numbers in his daily speech. Nevertheless, when it is necessary, he counts ten, twenty, thirty, forty, by opening and closing his hands, and then for higher numbers he contents himself with saying "many, many."

For these and other reasons, it is desirable that men of science in Britain and elsewhere should be careful in building theories upon what is said about our Australian aborigines; much of the information they have about them is unreliable, for it has not been gathered by competent observers or tested on scientific principles.

IV.—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal. As is the experience of the rest of mankind, so our blackfellows also know something of love, courtship, and marriage. To us it may appear novel to talk of love in this connection, but an Australian girl, though black, is a lovable object. The young women are in general comely to look on; they have plump faces and persons; their gait has all the gracefulness of nature; their eyes are bright and sparkling; their voices thin and melodious, and their laugh clear and happy; in their behaviour they are engaging and modest. I do not wonder that the young men of the tribe love such girls. And thus youthful attachments do spring up. But, as in more civilised communities, these love-ties may be rudely broken; for a girl in infancy, or even in the expectation of her birth, is often betrothed to an old man, a friend of the family, and at maturity, but not till then, she must go to join her husband, whatever her lover may say; or she belongs to a division of the tribe with which a young man of his clan must not marry on pain of death; or another lover asserts a claim to her, and the two rivals must fight it out, the girl being the prize of victory. It is true that to escape from the betrothed man, the girl may elope with her young lover and hide for a time until the storm is blown over; but it is not easy to get free

of the storm, for the girl's family are bound to go after the girl and bring her back to fulfil the engagement made for her; if they find her, they beat her and drag her with them; but it may be that she elopes again and again, and, if at last they see that she is determined on it, they let her have her own way. A wife too may run away from her husband either alone in order to escape from misery, or in company with another man as likely to be a kinder consort to her; but that too is dangerous, for the enraged husband pursues and may kill the paramour; her he beats unmercifully with his club and compels her to return; if he thinks that she means to run away again, he thrusts a spear through her leg, and so keeps her still for a time at least. "Oh, how cruel!" you say. Yes, it is cruel, if we are to judge these blacks by our standard of humanity. But, in considering this question of Australian marriage, we must always bear in mind that here the woman is the absolute property of her husband, just as much as any goods and chattels, and he may do with her whatever he likes, even to the extent of putting her to death, without any challenge from social or tribal law. And whenever we express our virtuous indignation at the cruelty of Australian blacks, we should at the same time bear in mind that, not so very long ago, our own English law allowed a husband to chastise his wife and to tyrannise over her in many ways; and American law was once very tender in dealing with the rights of a master over his slave as his own private property.

But all the girls are not betrothed at birth or in infancy; many of them grow up to maturity, mingling with the young men in their daily life and at merry-makings, such as the tribal dances called the 'karabaries,' although in them the girls and women are not performers, except in so far as they make the music, while the men go through the performance of the dance. It has been said that in their life before marriage, these young people have no restriction in their intercourse and follow their lusts unchecked. Now it is difficult for one who has not lived among the blacks to disprove an assertion of this kind; but those white men who are likely to have had the opportunity of knowing the facts, declare, that, on the contrary, the young people are kept strictly under the eye of their near relatives and must not go beyond the camp, unless accompanied by a married person. And the charge is not probable; for, at 12 or 13 years of age, a girl gets a husband and then the marriage laws are binding; and, at an earlier age, there are the laws which we may call those of the "forbidden degrees"; these regard the intercourse of certain male and female classes in the tribe as incest.

Marriage. Let us suppose, then, that a young man has by courtship gained the goodwill of a girl of the tribal class with which he is by law permitted to intermarry, or has taken a fancy to such a girl without any preliminaries; how must he proceed in his suit? Of course, he knows that he cannot marry until he has passed through the Bora ceremonies of initiation into the privileges and duties of a tribesman. But, if he has been initiated, he knows also that the tribal law gives him a right to claim in marriage any girl of the proper class, and he now asserts that claim either in person or by an envoy. He goes to the spot where the girl's family is encamped and says to her father, 'I will come and take away Bunna by-and-by,' or he sends his uncle with a similar message. No purchase-money is offered or paid, and yet the father cannot refuse unless the girl has been previously betrothed, for the young man has marital rights *in posse* over any unmarried girl of that class. And so the father consents; and, the sanction of the chief* and tribal council being obtained, the marriage

* In some places the chief gives a knotted string as a sort of "marriage license."

ceremony is fixed for a certain day. If there is no father alive, the girl's eldest brother or uncle gives consent. And the young man's suit prospers the more readily, if he has a sister whom he can use as barter with the girl's guardian to be a wife of his. Meanwhile, if there has been no courtship, the young woman's wishes have not been asked, and she may dislike the man chosen, or may prefer another. In that case, as soon as she hears of the arrangement, she runs away from her father's control, and tries to find concealment and refuge in some far distant part of the tribe where she may have friends. Taking with him several of his companions, but they must be of the same tribal class as himself, he pursues; if he finds the girl, he beats her into submission, no one hindering; and, if she refuses to move, they all unite in carrying her by force back to their camp. As a reward for their assistance, they are all allowed to share with the husband the *jus primæ noctis*. In the Andaman Islands, a Mincopie takes with him four companions on a similar errand, and with like results. Elsewhere, custom requires the bride to resist her husband literally with tooth and nail, and sometimes he emerges from the contest not only worsted, but having his face streaming with blood from the scratches on it. But in Australia, even when the marriage is founded on mutual consent, the girl's natural dread of subjugation makes her shrink from placing herself entirely under the control of the man, and she shows unwillingness or reluctance to go to him; the parents then interfere and compel her by blows to go, or the man himself comes and drags her away. Among the African tribes round Kilimanjaro, the correct thing for the bride to do is to run off; the bridegroom pursues, and has no difficulty in overtaking her; he seizes her, puts her on his shoulder, pick-a-back, and carries her in triumph to his home, she all the time screaming and the neighbours standing by and laughing heartily at her discomfiture; for, as they too were similarly laughed at, so it is now their turn to laugh. This universal feeling with reference to marriage has given rise to the theory of "marriage by capture," by which it is alleged that marriage, in its first origin, was simply the act of a strong man taking possession of a woman by force, and of as many women as he was inclined to; but I hold that the theory is fallacious, and that the facts on which it is founded admit of quite another explanation.

But our Australians have a sort of marriage by capture, somewhat after the fashion of the rape of the Sabine women in the early history of Rome. When a tribesman, from one cause or another, has a difficulty in getting a wife in his own tribule, he takes with him a few of his comrades, and, making an incursion into the neighbouring territory, he carries off a woman of that tribe to be his wife. He does not seize anyone that comes first to his hand; for here too the tribal restrictions as to the intermarriage of certain classes prevent; and, however much the names of these intermarrying classes may vary throughout the island, a black man always knows which class of females he may marry with; but the capture here may be similar to that by which Robert of Normandy, and other bold men in the middle ages, got their wives; the persons may have known something of each other beforehand, and the forceful suitor could not brook the delay of gentler ways.

Another kind of marriage by capture the Australians have, but it is common enough among all savage people. A war band invades the territory of an adjoining hostile tribe, kills the men, and carries off the women. Each woman becomes the property of her individual captor.

In some districts, when a young man wants a wife, he goes to a camp where there are females and throws in a 'bumarang'; if it is not thrown

back, he enters and takes the girl of his choice ; but if it is thrown back he knows he must fight for her, for there is a rival in the way. So among the Kaffirs, the bride on her marriage day has her body covered with red ochre, and at one part of the ceremonial has to throw an 'assagai' into the cattle kraal where the men are assembled.

The Ceremony. But when the match has been arranged with the full consent of all the persons concerned, and the day fixed for the ceremonial, then there is such a gathering of friends and well-wishers as graces a similar occasion in more civilized quarters. As many as 200 guests may arrive, the friends of both families ; there is a great store of food prepared for the feast which ensues ; a great fire is kindled and the guests arrange themselves on opposite sides of it ; meanwhile the bride's mother has built a 'gunya' or native hut, which is merely a rude shelter made of sticks and leafy boughs ; and the bride has made a fire there ; the man is arrayed in gorgeous attire—that is, streaks of red and white paint over his body ; the bride is brought in ; she is seen to be similarly attired ; or, in some localities, she is merely adorned with white feathers stuck in her hair ; the girl is led to the 'gunya' by her mother, or she is simply told to go to her husband, and she goes ; or, if not, she is compelled to go. The young couple sit there all night, and do not speak to each other ; at break of day she goes off to her father's home, but at night she returns to her own, and then the whole proceedings are brought to an end. This is the usual routine of a set marriage ceremonial, but the details of it vary among different tribes.

Mother-in-law. From the day of the marriage, the bride's mother, who has been so useful that day, not only becomes a mother-in-law to the young man, but ever after, up to the hour of his death, holds a most peculiar relation to him ; she must not speak to him nor he to her ; they must even avoid looking at each other. One day, a friend of mine was out riding about in the bush with a black man to assist him with the cattle ; they saw a black woman not far off, and my friend said to the man, "Jack, there's Mary ; call her ; I want to speak to her." Jack took no notice of this ; whereupon the gentleman, thinking that he had not been heard, repeated the command. There was no answer. At last, when appealed to again, the black man replied, "What for you ask that ; you know I can't speak to that fellow ; she my wife's mother." And so all communication between the two must be carried on through a third person ! If the man and the mother-in-law chance to cross each others' path in the forest, or be in danger of meeting there, the woman hurriedly hides behind a bush or a tree till he is passed, and he holds his shield before his face so that he may not see her. And this curious arrangement—which in some places is called the 'knaaloin' custom—affects also the mother of a little girl who has been betrothed to an older man. From the hour of betrothal, they become mother-in-law and son-in-law, and must avoid each other. They must, if possible, never see each other. It is hard to account for so remarkable a custom ; but our indigenes certainly think that, if there were any communication between the two, some great evil would happen to one or both of them. The evil spirits would come and inflict punishment on them by making them die or become prematurely old.

Nor are the Australians alone in this curious superstition. A Kaffir woman dislikes to use the name of her father-in-law or of any word which contains his name. She avoids this by using another word of the same meaning. Among the negroid Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, a man and the wife of a younger brother avoid each other, and all converse between

them is carried on through another person. He must not touch her or his wife's sister; but he shows all respect towards the wife of his elder brother, especially when she is older than himself; thus this shyness affects only a married relative, who is younger than himself, even although marriage is not possible between them. Women similarly are restricted in their intercourse with a husband's elder brother or male cousin, or his brother-in-law. And, in Northern Melanesia, similar reserve exists; for all women are either the sisters of the men, and between them consequently marriage is impossible; or they are the wives *in posse* of the men; and, conversely, the women hold corresponding relations to the men, and, therefore, men and women, who are already related by marriage, show much shyness towards each other. They avoid using a word which forms any part of the name of a relation by marriage, and a man and his mother-in-law specially shun each other, as in Australia.

Exogamy. And this state of things in the Santa Cruz group seems to me to throw considerable light on the system of marriage restriction in the Australian tribes. It is well known that their law prevents a man from marrying a woman of his own tribal class, and compels him to take his partner from a certain other class. This exogamous system in our native tribes has given rise to much discussion, and various reasons, more or less probable, have been assigned for it. Briefly, the facts are these. Throughout Australia, a tribe is, for the purposes of marriage, divided into two, or four, and sometimes six, classes, and within each of these no marriage is possible. Every man in that class must take a wife from another class, and the class into which he has to marry is fixed for him. Intermarriage with a woman of his own class is incest and a heinous offence. Now, it is clear that the two-class arrangement must have been the original one, for four and six classes can have come from two by subdivision; but, if four was the original number, it is difficult to see how the strong conservatism of savage tribes towards any custom, which they regard as somewhat of a religious nature, would permit them to curtail an arrangement handed down to them from their ancestors. I shall there assume at present, and for this argument, that everywhere there are only two exogamous intermarrying classes in each of our tribes, and within each of these no marriage is permitted. It is also known that everywhere among Ethiopians, that is, black tribes, marriage with a sister is abhorred, and a sister's daughters are regarded as younger sisters, while a sister's son inherits a man's property to the exclusion of the man's own son. Descent is reckoned through the mother, and the mother's brother has a special relationship to all her children closer than that of the father's brother. A man may marry a brother's daughter, but not a sister's. Paternal cousins of the same name may marry, but not maternal cousins. Now, let us suppose that the first founders of any particular black race—that is, the leaders of the first band that went forth to people new lands, were two brothers, the band consisting of themselves and their wives and children, or two brothers going forth alone to settle on an island already inhabited. Such a case is quite possible, for tradition in various parts of Oceania says that such a thing has happened. The children of each of these brothers, whom we shall call A and B, cannot marry among themselves, for they are all brothers and sisters, but any son of A can marry any daughter of B, and any son of B can marry any daughter of A, for these are brothers' children. Thus two exogamous intermarrying classes are established which would embrace the whole community in perpetuity; for these class distinctions are heritable property. And even where the two families of founders came as immigrants and settled among a small population already established in an island or district, any wife whom a man might take

from among these indigenes would be a sister-in-law to the other men of the same division, and her daughters would be their younger sisters, descent flowing through the mother. Exactly the same issues would arise whenever the two immigrant founders of families and races were sisters; and of such a case, too, Polynesia has traditions. And now I see how the mother-in-law's shyness and prohibition of communion come in. If the tribal view of physiology alleges that the daughter is specially a product of her mother, and continues to have a special physical relation to her mother (for the evidence points in that direction), then the girl's husband must shun all appearance of direct communication with the mother-in-law, for she is of the same tribal class as her daughter, and that is a class over all members of which he has the possibility of marital rights; but his relation to the daughter would render the slightest touch of the mother-in-law equivalent to incest—worse even than intercourse with a sister. I offer this as a theory to account for this curious custom among our Australians. As a theory, it seems to explain also why the father-in-law is not avoided in the same way. A father-in-law on a visit to his daughter may enter the 'gunya' and consort freely with the husband, but the mother-in-law must stay outside. She must not speak to the man even when he is dying; only when he is dead, can she look on his face, and join in the bleeding gashes and the wailing cry of grief for the friend who is gone. It is needless to say that the natives themselves cannot tell why all this is so. To all inquiries they only reply, 'Our fathers did so, and so do we.'

However, in course of time the two primitive classes were expanded into four, and each of these four classes came to be subdivided into 'totem' varieties. This happened, as I think, not from the pressure of necessity and the fear of inbreeding, as some say, but in a much more natural way. The experience of all nations that have had any vitality in them shows a sort of gemmation, a putting forth of fresh shoots which go out and establish themselves as new tribes and independent existences. Increase of population leads to this, or civil dissension, or a tendency to wander and colonise. The leader of such a sept bears the by-name of 'the lion,' or 'the bear,' or 'the kangaroo.' On his death that animal is regarded as his visible representative, and is revered accordingly. No man of that clan will harm it; for, on his death-bed, he may have told his people that henceforth his spirit would live in that animal, and so it is the first of their ancestors. That animal becomes to them a 'totem,' after which they are named, and to which they look for protection against evil; if it is a thing, it becomes to them a 'fetich' in which the spirit dwells, and may do them good or ill, according to their behaviour towards it. In Scotland, although there is no 'totemism' there, yet the principles which produced it in savage nations still exist; for a loyal Bruce will not willingly kill a spider; the Highland clansmen cherish the plants which are the badges of their clans; and the Scot abroad loves to see the thistle, just as much as the shamrock delights the Irishman. Thus I account for the spread of 'totemism.' Here, again, Polynesian myths show us this very process going on. Pili, originally a Samoan hero, was the name of the leader of the swarm that peopled Hawaii; now Pili means a 'lizard,' and the Hawaiian's reverence, or rather dread, the lizard.

Whenever a tribe, with only two exogamous classes, thus sent off a hive from itself to form another tribe, it is natural to expect that the names of these two would be retained and applied to a portion of the hive, while two or more fresh names would be introduced for the other classes. Or, on discarding the old names, the new band would arrange itself in divisions,

named from their several leaders. In this way the Israelite tribes, when they occupied the land of Canaan, called themselves by the names of the sons of Jacob. In Australia, the names by which the various tribes call their class divisions are very diverse, and the 'totem' animals of their sub-divisions are very diverse; and yet a black man, wherever he is on this vast continent, knows whether a female whom he meets is of the class with which he can intermarry. On one occasion, an aboriginal man came to my house from Rockhampton, which is 800 miles distant. He was a very intelligent black, and, in conversation with him, I learned that, when he had reached a town about 30 miles from ours, he found there a young black woman whose father belonged to our local tribe, and knowing her to be of the proper class, Jimmy married her. How he knew, I cannot tell. It may be that he found her 'totem' name to mean the same animal which was the 'totem' of the class with which he could intermarry in Queensland.

Marriage Classes. An aboriginal community, then, is commonly divided into four marriage classes, which, in the Kamalarai tribe of New South Wales—one of the most widely known—are called:—

	1	2	3	4
<i>Male ...</i>	... Ippai	Kumbo	Murri	Kubbi
<i>Female ...</i>	Ippatha	Butha	Matha	Kubbitha

The first and the second of these classes have each the same subdivisions, named after native animals, which they take as their 'totems,' viz., emu, bandicoot, black snake; while the third and the fourth take kangaroo, opossum, iguana. The Kurringgai tribe, which occupies our sea-coast for a long distance north and south from Newcastle, has the same class divisions, except that Murri is by them called Bia, and their sub-divisions are black snake, bandicoot, eagle-hawk, and stingaree. Other tribes elsewhere have still the four classes, but under different names and with different sub-classes. The law of intermarriage is such that there is no marrying between members of the same 'totem,' but an Ippai must marry a Kubbitha, a Murri a Butha; a Kumbo must marry a Matha, and a Kubbi an Ippatha. The children of these marriages also arrange themselves in these classes and sub-classes by fixed laws. The rule of descent, as given by authors who have written on this subject, is this:—*Descent is reckoned through the mother.* To this rule, however, there are exceptions where the children follow the *father's* classification. I am therefore disposed to offer this on a more generally applicable rule:—*Children take the class and 'totem' of their grandparents,* and this rule, so far as I can see, admits of no exceptions. It corresponds also with a natural impulse among ourselves in the naming of our children. I tabulate my view thus:—

LAWS OF DESCENT AMONG THE AUSTRALIAN INDIGENES.

Rule:—"Children take the classification of their 'grandparents.'"

For Males.

Murri (*kangaroo*) is the son of Ippai (*emu*): therefore his sons are Ippai (*emu*).

Kubbi (*opossum*) is the son of Kumbo (*bandicoot*): therefore his sons are Kumbo (*bandicoot*).

Ippai (*black-snake*) is the son of Murri (*iguana*): therefore his sons are Murri (*iguana*).

Kumbo (*bandicoot*) is the son of Kubbi (*opossum*): therefore his sons are Kubbi (*opossum*).

For Females.

Martha (*kangaroo*) is the daughter of Kubbitha (*kangaroo*): therefore her daughters are Kubbitha (*kangaroo*).

Kubbitha (*opossum*) is the daughter of Matha (*opossum*): therefore her daughters are Matha (*opossum*).

Ippatha (*emu*) is the daughter of Butha (*emu*): therefore her daughters are Butha (*emu*).

Butha (*black-snake*) is the daughter of Ippatha (*black-snake*): therefore her daughters are Ippatha (*black-snake*).

The lineal descent thus becomes:—

For Males.		For Females.	
Ippai	Kumbo	Kubbitha	Butha
Murri	Kubbi	Matha	Ippatha
Ippai	Kumbo	Kubbitha	Butha
Murri and so on.	Kubbi and so on.	Matha and so on.	Ippatha and so on.

As to the *form* of these names, it is obvious that those for females all end in *-tha*, and are taken from the corresponding names for males. The names Butha and Matha seem to be irregular; but Butha may be for Guttha from Kumbo, for in Kumbo the *m* is phonetic and intrusive, and the root is Ku, or rather Gu; as to Matha, it is regularly formed from the same root as Murri, for Murri ought to be written Ma-ari, the *-ari* being a common suffix formative in the language, and Ma is the root, from which also comes Ma-in, a dialect form of the same meaning as Murri. Māri and Máin both mean a 'native' or 'blackman'; its substitute, Bia, means 'father.' Ippai, in the Wirádhāri dialect, adjacent to the Kámalārai, means an 'eagle-hawk.' I cannot give any account of the names Kumbo and Kubbi, but they seem both to come from the same root Ku or Gu. I presume that Murri and Ippai were the two primary classes in the Kamalari system.

Names of Classes. It may seem strange that there should be so many different names for the four tribal classes; but that is everywhere a peculiarity of the Australian dialects; each dialect generally has its own name for the most familiar objects. Thus the tribal languages have many words to mean a 'kangaroo,' and still more to mean the different varieties of the kangaroo. And so, if the class-names designate the same animals from tribe to tribe, these names must vary as other common words do. But if, as seems likely, the Australians came hither in different bands and at different times, each band under its own leaders, whose names afterwards became 'totems' to their followers, then I can understand how the class-names in the tribes are now so various, and why these names do not everywhere signify the same animals. This origin of the class-names receives countenance from facts known to exist among other savage tribes. The Battaks of Sumatra, for instance, have among them clans, whose 'totem' is the turtle-dove, the crocodile, &c., and the clansmen allege that they got these names from their first ancestors. Then again it is well-known that, in

the Australian classification, some animal-names—the eagle and the crow—are more common than others, and these two especially figure much in the native mythology. Is it unreasonable to suppose that these were the by-names of two great chiefs of the first immigrants; just as Caleb, ‘dog,’ was one of the leaders of Israelites in their invasion of Canaan. Now, on the Murray River, two class-names are Makquarra, ‘eagle,’ and Kilparra, ‘crow.’ In our latitudes the synonyms for these are Mullian, and Wagan, and if the same classification existed here these might be the class-names in use instead of Makquarra, and Kilparra.

*Animal
Classes.*

The natives take another curious view of their tribal classification; they believe that all natural objects are similarly divided into classes, male and female; hence they address their dogs as ‘ippai,’ ‘ippatha,’ and so on; so also they speak of the sun, moon, and stars; and the ‘totem’ names also in some places are taken from the stars and trees, and even rain. A blackfellow always treats with special respect and kindness the animal or thing whose ‘totem’ name he bears. If he is a Kilparra man, he thinks that the ‘crow’ watches over him and will give him due warning in time of danger, or will even communicate with him in his sleep. If a colonist kills his ‘totem’ animal, the black will say, ‘What for you shoot that fellow? that my father’; or ‘that brother belonging to me; why did you do it?’ And in common conversation among themselves they often address each other, not by their individual names, but by their class-names.

*Marriage
Fidelity.*

There now remain only a few minor points to be considered in connection with this subject of tribal marriage. It has been said that morality is unknown in our tribes, and that individuals consort together, male and female, like the beasts of the field. This is utterly untrue so far as the Australians are concerned, and although their code of morals is not founded on the Christian system as ours is, and they therefore occupy a much lower platform, yet the light of nature is still with them, in many respects, undimmed, as will be shown in another section, and they have social and tribal punishments for those who transgress. A woman who violates her fidelity to her husband may be beaten by him, or speared through the leg; that punishment may be considered brutal, but it is the only substitute they have for jail and hard labour. If she continues wanton, the elders of the tribe compel her to submit to a sort of homœopathic remedy so effectual that, if it could be enforced in a civilised community, I am sure that adultery would soon disappear. Or, if the husband chooses, he may complain to the elders of the tribe, and they, on cause shown, decree a divorce; but not if she has children. A wife may similarly complain to them of the conduct of her husband, and they may order both the man and his paramour to be punished. A woman also, who is cruelly used by her husband, may flee from him, and place herself under the protection of another man, with the hope of becoming his wife; but the two men must then determine possession by single combat in presence of the chiefs.

In other directions, the blackman’s belief that his wife is only to be dealt with as a portion of his private property comes into play. When visitors come to the camp they are accommodated with wives while they remain; and a brave chief, who has done much for their tribe by his prowess, gets the wives of other men sent to him by them as a mark of respect and friendship. Two men may even agree to exchange wives for a time; and, however jealous a husband may be of his wife’s fidelity in the tribe, he is quite ready to bargain with a white man, and with her consent too; for a black woman

considers it an honor to be thus courted by a man of a superior race. Here, and in Equatorial Africa likewise, if a lover only agrees to give something, no objection is raised by the husband; and yet, notwithstanding all this, our natives may be said to be on the whole a moral people—perhaps as moral, generally speaking, as some of the European nations; and their morality in marriage is stamped on their languages; for these have words which describe the wantonness of a woman, and such words could not exist if morality were unknown.

There are widows in the Australian tribes. When a man dies, his widow is the property of his next brother, even if he has a wife already; for there is polygamy in the tribes, but it exists chiefly in the households of the chiefs, and is not otherwise common. If from any cause this refuge fails the widow, she goes to the dead man's paternal cousin, avoiding the sister relationship as usual, or she goes back to her father's home, and remains there until her brothers give her away in barter; or, if she has no other resource, she becomes the property of the community. This levirate custom is not confined to Australia. In Melanesia the woman is told at the time of her marriage to which of his brothers she will have to go in the event of her husband's death. Among some of the aboriginal tribes of the north-west provinces of Hindustan, the levirate custom also exists. The Bechuanas of Africa have the same custom, and all the wives of the deceased elder brother are taken over by his next brother. Even the wives of a deceased king there belong to his son, and he may retain them or give them away as presents to the under-chiefs.

Inheritance. The principle of inheritance by birth has not much scope in Australia, for our blackfellows have very little property to leave to heirs. Their all is a few spears and a club and a shield, a 'bumarang,' a cloak; some of these are put in the grave with the dead man. Of course, the wife's utensils will belong to her successor. Nevertheless, there are indications to show that a man, when dying, may, by a verbal will, leave such property as he has to a son or to any one he chooses. It appears, however, that in all things there is a closer sympathy between a man and his sister, for the maternal uncle has most to do with his sister's family. In some places it is he that negotiates a marriage and gives away the bride, and it is he that acts as guardian to his young nephews. This seems to correspond with, although it does not go so far as, the Dravidian custom, where, as in Travancore and among the Canarese, the law of inheritance passes over a man's sons, and conveys his property to his sister's sons. The same is the law in Northern Melanesia. This also means that a sister, from some physiological or other cause, is regarded as nearer to a man than his brother; hence the rule elsewhere, that a man may marry his brother's daughter, but not his sister's; hence also the fact that in a part of the Melanesian region a mother's brother is called a father, while a father's brother is only an uncle.

Mutual Affection. Only one thing more may be added in this section; in spite of the hardness of their mode of life, married couples often live happily and affectionately together to a considerable age, and as they are a merry, laughter-loving race, their troubles and privations pass lightly away. In their natural state, and wherever food is abundant, they are prolific, and children are numerous in a native camp; but in a hard time abortion and infanticide are common; and, especially since the blacks in the peopled districts have taken to European food and indulgences and habits, their name and their generation will soon have disappeared from the lands of which their fathers were the sole possessors.

V.—THE TRIBE.

*What
is it?*

In Australia there are only two things to be considered when we proceed to locate a tribe—its territorial limits and its language. Religion cannot be taken as an element in this question, nor tribal descent; for the Bora, which is of a semi-religious nature, and the native beliefs as to their deified ancestors, and the influence of evil spirits, are much the same everywhere throughout the continent, and there are no traditions as to a separate origin and descent of tribes, as in the stories of Greece and Rome; but it is well-known here that each tribe had its own 'taurai'—territory or hunting-ground—usually determined by natural boundaries, such as mountain ridges and rivers; any transgression of these limits was regarded by the adjacent tribe as a *casus belli*, and would at once lead to hostilities. As a consequence of this isolation, and from the operation of a principle, which caused the name even of a common thing to be changed as soon as any man died who bore that name, the dialect of each tribe has diverged very much from the original stock. Thus it is that each tribe has come to be distinguished both by its dialect and by the limits within which each member of the tribe might wander, without encountering enemies who would drive him back. In many instances, the line of division between languages, and consequently between tribes, lies on the test word for 'no,' and this mode of distinguishing them seems to come from the natives, for one of the largest tribes in New South Wales has always been called the Kámalārai, the 'no-ers,' both by themselves and by others. And many other tribes are named in the same way. In the case of the Kamalarai, however, another consideration comes into view. Immediately to the north of them, there is a big stretch of country in which the word for 'no' is wāl; the people are therefore called the Wālarai; but their language is not materially different from the Kamalarai, and they are arranged in four exogamous classes bearing the Kamalarai names. For these reasons the Walarai are regarded as only a sub-tribe of the Kamalarai; and so also for the Ngaiamba blacks on the west side, who speak the Wailwan dialect. I have been considering this question of the tribes in New South Wales for many years, and I cannot find that they are more than eight in number, the Kámalārai, the Wirádhāri, the Bákānji, the Kurring-gai, the Yung-gai, the Paikalyung, the Wachigāri, the Murringgāri. In addition to these, we have, on our southern frontier, the Ngarego, who come in from Gippsland, which is part of the colony of Victoria; and in the south-west corner, on both sides of the Murray River, there is a bunch of associated tribes, each of them small, but yet having its own name and differences of dialect. These seem to be the fragments of tribes which have been hemmed in there by the irruption of stronger tribes from the north. The Yakkajāri and the Kornu tribes, on our northern boundary, properly belong to Queensland. Of these names for tribes, Kurringgai and Paikalyung mean the 'men.'

*The
Tribule.*

Now, these tribes have their sub-divisions, each with a 'taurai' of its own; and the sub-tribe is called by the name of some local feature of its 'taurai,' a river or a mountain, or the like, and to this is added a suffix—'kal' on the coast, 'gialong' inland—to denote place. And this principle of sub-division goes down even as far as the clan and the family. For to each family is allotted a portion of the local 'taurai,' from which it may obtain its supplies of food, and sometimes a dying chief has been known to say that he wished to give some particular part of it to a favourite son. This looks like a claim to private ownership in land, but, as that is opposed to the communal system which prevails in all the tribes, I would not admit the force of this evidence until it is established on better ground.

Boundaries. That the use of their 'taurai' is jealously guarded, even by the sub-tribes, admits of no doubt. An incident, for which I can vouch, proves this; for I have it on the testimony of a friend whose aid was invoked on the occasion. About fifty years ago, in the Walarai country, one division of the tribe had increased so much in numbers that their hunting-ground was too strait for them, and a scarcity of food ensued. They therefore sent their public messenger, or herald, to an adjacent sub-tribe, requesting them to surrender a part of their ground. This was refused, on the plea that it was against tribal law to do so, and that even if it were lawful, their 'taurai,' if curtailed, would not be sufficient to furnish them with enough of food. The others then sent back an insolent message to say that they would come and take what they wanted, and would leave them nothing but grass to eat. The latter replied that, if so, they would appeal for justice and aid to the neighbouring sub-tribes. On this, both parties prepared for war, and the weaker side asked my friend to come and help them with his musket. This he declined to do. But the two sections assembled their forces and met; as usual, numerous parleys ensued, much talk, and angry oratory. At last it was agreed that next day an equal number from each side should fight it out. When the time for action came, their courage, I suppose, began to fail them, or their passions had cooled, for the dispute was settled by single combat. This is the common course and issue of a tribal quarrel.

Travellers. Notwithstanding all this, a man going on a visit or on business may pass freely from any one locality within the tribal boundaries to any other, and wherever he comes he is received with hospitality. It is only a war-party or a band of blood-avengers that will cross the boundary, and enter on the land of another tribe. Nor is this fencing of territory confined to Australia. The negroid Mincopies of the Andaman Islands have strict regulations of the same kind between their tribes, and the Hottentots of South Africa had the same before the white man came there; as they possessed flocks and herds, intrusion on their pasture lands was a serious offence. So long as a tribe depends on the chase or on pasture for its subsistence, and is nomadic in its members, there is local community in land; but when any portion of the tribe takes to cultivation, then individual tenure in land springs up. Now, our blackfellows have not got beyond the hunter stage, and do not cultivate; it is only in peculiar circumstances, where there are permanent supplies of food, that they settle in one place, and build grass huts for constant occupation.

Visiting. And yet our tribes, even when hostile, do not shut themselves altogether out from social intercourse with each other. At the
Trading. great Bora ceremonies, men of the adjacent tribes are invited to be present, and universal brotherhood prevails; and, at a certain season of the year, a sort of fair, called Mindi, is held in any place which may be suitable, and tribesmen from all quarters attend. There is then a general barter of useful articles—in fact, a buying and selling, something like a Nijni-Novgorod trafficking, to which each man brings the things that his own district produces, and exchanges them for others which it has not, and which he wishes to have.

In Melanesia, unimproved bush land seems to belong to nobody; but, as soon as a man by labour clears a piece of land, it is his own in perpetuity; villagers who may happen to settle on it pay no rent; they only make presents as a sort of feudal homage to the head of the family which is descended from the original proprietor. But, if the owner of the land lets another man plant fruit-trees on it, these trees and their produce are the heritable property of the planter and his representatives.

Migrations. It is not supposed that the Australian tribes have in all time continued to occupy the very same 'taurai' which they now have. There is a flux and reflux among savage tribes—a growth and decay. This is very conspicuous in Africa. A tribe, whose location was near the Cameroon Mountains, was, in a few years, found to have drifted down to the mouth of the Congo; and Livingstone's friends, the Malokolo, are now said to be almost extinct. In our country, the Maroura tribe, which now lives at the junction of the Murray with the Darling River, was found, in 1831, far up the Darling, and moving down. These changes happen in various ways. About 1830, a terrible epidemic of an eruptive disease like variola raged among our tribes. At a spot which I know the deaths were so rapid and numerous that the blacks could not bury their dead; they had constantly to shift their camp, and just leave a sick friend with a little water beside him to live or to die, untended. After this, the tribe never recovered its numerical strength. Now, if, in these circumstances, a neighbouring tribe had escaped the epidemic and seized the opportunity to make an attack, these Kurringgai would have disappeared from the map, and the others would have occupied their place; and such a movement as this, like the letting out of water, might have caused the displacement of many other tribes further to the north. Such displacements are very common in a region which is overcrowded, as is Central Africa and on the Zambesi; for, in a crowd, when it once begins to move, a man cannot help shifting his position as it moves. So it has been with the Makololo; another tribe came in and conquered them; killed all the men; spared the women and children; and thus the tribe is gone. Livingstone says that there were traces of many extinct tribes in the lands he passed through. And so it must have been in Australia in the past.

Tribal Government. There is nothing of the nature of kingly rule in any one of the tribes, nor is there an over-chief for the whole of a tribe; but the affairs of each section of a tribe are administered by a number of elders, among whom one man is considered the leader or chief, because of his superior wisdom and influence. To this man's opinion much deference is given when the old men sit in council, although he cannot control the others by his individual authority. He and his wife and his family occupy a position of dignity and respect in the sub-tribe, for I have heard the daughter of such a chief claim to be a 'princess'; and I have seen such a chief walking along with stately parade, and two henchman behind him at a proper distance, carrying on their shoulders the animals which had been caught for food. He is addressed by his title as chief, and not by his name, and younger men do not speak to him till they are spoken to, and in all respects his position is one of honour. He and his assessors regulate all matters that may be referred to them by the members of the sub-tribe in their individual relations, as well as the general interests of their community; they settle private disputes, allot punishments, and see them executed; they conduct the great tribal ceremonies, such as those of the Bora; and decree either peace or war. At their councils they sit in a circle at a distance from the camp, in the recesses of the bush, and often at night time. "I once," says a friend of mine, "came suddenly upon a lot of the old men sitting in a circle in anxious deliberation. As I passed on, one of them whispered to me not to tell anybody that I had seen them."

Successor to Chiefship. The succession to the dignity of chief is neither hereditary nor is it elective. When an old chief dies he is buried with special honour, and the chiefs of adjoining sub-tribes attend his funeral. For some time thereafter the government is allowed to go on

as before, and no steps are taken to supply his place; at last the council meets and agrees to recognise the eldest son of the deceased as chief in his room, the succession by custom falling to him; but if he is unwarlike, or supine in disposition, or otherwise unfit to be a leader, he is passed over and the next son who may be fitted for the honour is chosen. If the late chief has left no sons, the succession passes to his brother and his sons. If the late chief's son is a minor, he cannot sit as chief till he has passed through the Bora, and if, when he grows up, he is found unfit for his position he may be deposed. If there are two rivals competing for the chiefship, they settle the matter by single combat. The government of the nine tribes of the Mincopies is very similar to this; each tribe has its 'taurai,' which is the common property of all; in each there are sub-chiefs or elders, and a head chief, whose authority, however, is very limited; for of himself he cannot assign punishments or enforce obedience. A son of his succeeds, if he is qualified; but if not, there is always one of the other chiefs who is known to be best fitted for the vacant position. There a man does not become a chief by descent, but his public estimation elevates him to rank; if he has shown wisdom and skill, if he is generous and hospitable, and has provided liberal feasts for his friends, he is chief by general consent. In New Britain the influence of a 'dukduk' man, a sort of sacred man, is also obtained by his generosity in providing feasts of pigs and other viands, and in the northern half of the New Hebrides something similar to the 'dukduk' prevails. In the New Hebrides also—a Melanesian region—there are no chiefs of sacred blood and no hereditary rank; in short, there, as in Australia, one man is considered as good as any other, unless he shows fitness for the position he holds. Among the Bechuanas, a chief has much more power than an Australian chief; he has the command of life and death; his decision is always accepted; and he alone sits when he is speaking in the council.

*Quarrels
and Punish-
ments.*

This Australian council of old and experienced men—this aboriginal senate and witenagemot—has the power to decree punishment for tribal offences; the chiefs sit as magistrates to decide on all causes that are brought before them. The punishments which they impose are various; for serious offences against public law, such as the divulging of sacred things, they decree death by the spear, probably at the hand of the tribal executioner, for there is such a functionary; if a man has spoken to his wife's mother, he is obliged to leave the camp and pitch his 'gunya' at a distance, and to remain there for some time; if a husband complains that his wife is wanton, and the council finds her guilty, she is condemned to submit to a very ignominious punishment; but for smaller offences, the man is ordered by the chiefs to stand forth, armed only with a shield, and thus to defend himself against the spears and 'bumarangs' thrown at him by several men, the number of these varying according to the nature of the fault he has committed; only one spear is thrown at him at a time, and he is warned each time of throwing; his relatives stand by, in his interest; it is said also that the chiefs sometimes allow a volley of spears to be thrown all at once. In some cases, if the offence is not of any magnitude, the offender's wife is allowed to stand beside him, armed with a yam-stick—the women's weapon; with this she strikes down the spears as they come in.

But many grievances are arranged without the intervention of the chiefs, in the rough and ready way common among schoolboys. For instance, a man has been found stealing from his neighbour, or two men quarrel about a woman; a fight ensues, and with any weapons which may happen to be at hand; the one or the other gets his head broken, and there the matter ends. In a set duel for some offence, the one man with his club pounds away at

the other, who defends himself with his shield; he continues showering blows until he is tired; then the adversary sets to work with his club, in the same manner, until the one or the other succumbs. Sometimes also, even in serious matters, the chiefs are not required to intervene. If a man has by force taken and married a woman, in violation of any tribal law, the women's relatives complain to the man's class; they are bound to compel the man to give back the woman; if they do not, a party feud arises, which can be appeased only by blood. The following description of such a party battle was written sixty years ago, and is copied from a private journal:—"10th September, 1833.—I was to-day present for the first time at a battle of natives, ten men being engaged on each side. A clear spot had been selected as the place of combat. The two bands advanced to about thirty paces from each other; then a parley commenced, in which words got higher and higher, until, in exasperation, two or three 'bumarangs' were thrown from the one side. Presently, the others returned the challenge in the same way, and then the parties gallantly closed, and began to belabour one another's heads unmercifully with their clubs. Three or four of the combatants were soon prostrate, and the blood on their backs showed that the blows had been forcibly applied. Threats, dark and deep, were now heard; spears were got ready for action, and the dreadful howl of defiance was raised. The combatants again opposed each other; but with more deadly weapons than before. But, while the sight of blood arouses the valorous feelings of the men, it evidently excites the softer sensations of the other sex; for now, all at once, there rushed between the parties a hag bearing the name of woman. Her eloquence was great, if we may judge by the noise she made. She 'suited the action to the word and the word to the action,' and, as often as a man lifted a spear to throw, she interposed herself. Her violence was becoming outrageous, when there came forward from the opposite side a woman also armed with a tomahawk, and seemed inclined to take summary means to quiet the first intruder. She, however, was not to be daunted; for, in reply, she brandished her stick as though game to the backbone. The angry mood, however, of these two females suddenly changed; for they ceased to threaten, and agreed to endeavour to preserve peace between their friends; but the first, finding her efforts in this direction to be unavailing, abandoned herself to despair, and, seizing a tomahawk, cut her head with it in a most dreadful manner. Whether she intended also to cut short her existence or no, remains an unsettled question, for the tomahawk was wrested from her hands. The female affray was to me by far the most amusing part of the business, and no London fisherwomen could have assailed one another with greater seeming virulence, or with more ready language. The one party had hawks' feathers stuck in their hair, a sure sign that their intentions were deadly."

As I have said in another place, the war often ends in a single combat between chosen champions, even after the battle has been set in array between a picked band on the one side and the other; but when the women interpose, and rouse the passions by their tongues, there comes on a general *melée*. The women, too, take up the fight. They advance against each other, and are roused to fury by mutual taunts of the most exasperating kind. Then they close in, spit in each other's faces, tear hair, and strike lustily with their *yam-sticks*. The men do not interfere.

The nature of the punishment imposed for an offence varies in different localities. In Western Australia, a man guilty of abduction stands calmly while the aggrieved parties drive their spears into his leg. Elsewhere, a man accused of a serious offence gets a month's citation to appear before the

tribunal, on pain of death if he disobeys. If he is found guilty of a private wrong, he is painted white, and made to stand out at fifty paces in front of the accuser and his friends, all fully armed. They throw at him a shower of spears and 'bumarangs', from which he protects himself with a light shield. If he is not harmed by these, his brother or other male relative, who stands by as a second, hands him a heavy shield, and each adversary then advances, and gives him a blow with a club. As soon as blood is drawn, all are friends again.

Women and children are beaten with a stick if they cause strife by lying or otherwise; and if it is a man who does it, he must stand out and take his punishment in the usual way with 'bumarang' and club. Liars are much disliked; and if anyone shows himself to be really a bad man and incorrigible, he is put to death judicially.

In some tribes, when a blood-feud has to be atoned, the whole 'totem' class of the aggressor meets the whole class of the victim; champions are selected to represent each side, as usual, and the rest of the men are spectators.

In Melanesia and Polynesia generally, the punishment imposed for offences is a fine of so many pigs. But in Fiji, a man may be strangled or clubbed, or his ear, nose, or finger may be cut off for an offence. Adultery is severely punished. But in all cases the aggrieved person will usually accept a 'soro,' or expiatory gift, as satisfaction.

Public Messengers. The council of chiefs also appoints the 'herald' or tribal messenger. He must be a man fluent of speech, well acquainted with the neighbouring dialects, and a good traveller. He passes in safety between and through hostile tribes, for his person is inviolable, and he is known to be a herald by the red net which he wears round his forehead. Charged with a message from his tribe, he approaches the camp of the enemy, and makes his presence known by a peculiar cry. This brings around him all who are within hearing. He sits down and remains silent for a long time; for this is native etiquette; nor do they speak a word to him, till, at last, his tongue is loosed, and then his eloquence is like a rapid torrent. He is listened to with the greatest attention; the chiefs consult, and he waits there for the night or perhaps for several days to receive their reply.

This public messenger is often sent on peaceful errands to the sub-tribes all around; for, although the business of each of these is regulated independently by its own council of elders, yet there are occasions of general interest in which they all combine for their mutual benefit. Of these occasions, the most important is the Bora ceremonies, at which young men are formally admitted into the tribe, and are taught all the tribal lore and their personal obligations as members of the tribe. That is a joyful season, and blacks assemble then from all quarters. Another such occasion is the Mindi meetings, or general fairs, when the blacks from distant places bring in their commodities for barter. Another is a general *battue* for game; for, if any sub-tribe find itself hard pushed for food, it can summon its neighbours to give their assistance in the hunt. Then they all spread themselves in a circle, whose diameter may be 10 to 15 miles—like the hunting circles which, in Celtic Scotland, are called *tiomchioll*—and gradually converge, driving the game before them; when the circle has become small enough, the men despatch the kangaroos and the wallabies with their clubs as they endeavour to break the line. Or, there may be disputes or grievances between the sub-tribes, which must be arranged by mutual conference. For

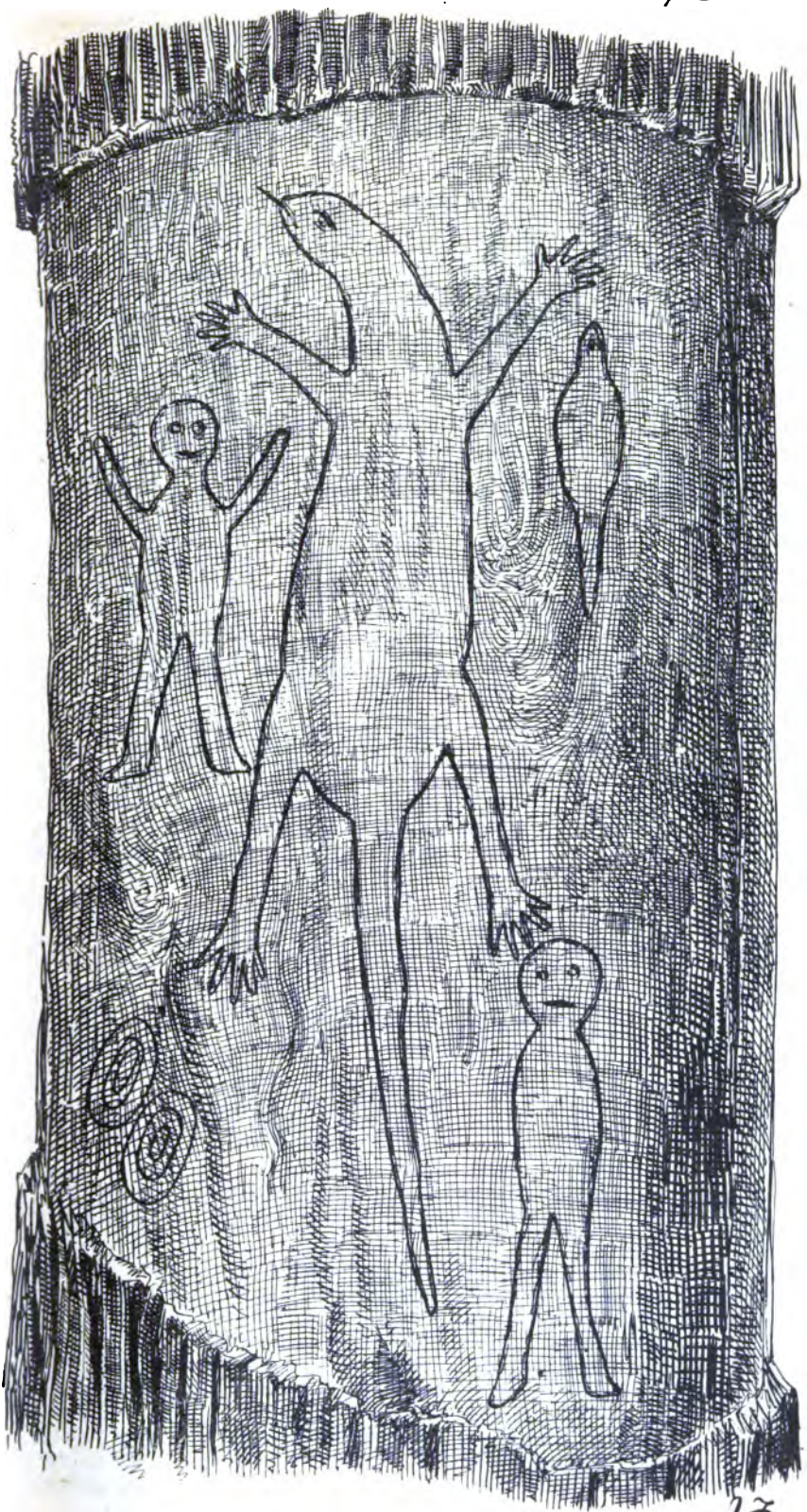
all such purposes the public messenger is used. He gets his message from his own chief, and off he goes in haste to deliver it to all concerned; he also carries a message-stick, that is, a short rod or baton with notches of various sorts cut on it to assist his memory. If he is not known far from home, he may also take with him his chief's 'bumarang' as credentials. Different colours may also be laid on the message-stick, according to the nature of the message which he is to deliver. This one man may pass on and deliver his message to all for whom it is intended; but often he goes no farther than the nearest 'taurai.' The chief of that division receives the message and the stick, and sends it on by the hand of his own messenger, and in this way it soon is known to all. The message tells the purpose for which the meeting is convened, and the place and day of assembly. A meeting may also be summoned by smoke signals, of which more anon. All who are thus summoned are bound to obey on pain of death; a black boy in the service of a colonist will not stay on seeing the smoke signal. If he is refused permission to go, he takes leg-bail, leaving behind him his clothing and all the property which his master has given him.

A native, when conveying a white man's message, is likewise allowed to pass safe, even through hostile territory. He carries in his hand a piece of stick with a notch at the end, and fixed in this is a piece of white paper, having the message written on it. To attack, or injure, or impede this messenger is to raise a feud with the whole tribe of white men.

In Fiji, a messenger sent by the king carries with him rods or reeds of various lengths; as he delivers each message, he lays down the reed corresponding thereto, and so on until they are all in a row before him.

In Africa, also, similar institutions are found; for, on the Gold Coast there are tribal messengers, who carry as their credentials the message canes or swords of the head men. There, too, the succession in the tribe passes, not to the son of the present holder of rank, but to his brother, or, failing a brother, to a nephew. A traveller in the Soudan many centuries ago, observes:—"No one here is named after his father, but after his maternal uncle. The sister's son always succeeds to the property in preference to the son." There, also, the heir must be born of a female of their own race. "Ask them to trace back their race for a few generations, and they will ultimately inform you of some mysterious connection between their original progenitor and a hawk, a lion, or a wolf." "A tradition exists that the whole of these people were originally comprehended in twelve families or tribes, of which Aquonna will not eat 'buffalo' (quonna), Essona will not eat 'bush cat' (esso), and so on. Friendship exists between these families, even although they be of different nations, and inheritance is claimed." I quote this, because it explains the origin of 'totemism' in our Australian tribes in relation to their internal classification according to the view which I have given of it.

To the same effect is the following quotation from the "Equatorial Africa," of Mons. Paul du Chaillu:—"This day I had a glimpse at another curious superstition of these people. One of the hunters had shot a wild bull, and, when the carcass was brought in, the good fellow sent me an abundant supply of the best portions. I had a great piece boiled for dinner, and expected [my friend] Quengueza to eat as much as would make several hungry white men sick. Judge of my surprise, when, coming to the table and seeing only the meat, he refused to touch it. I asked why. 'It is *roondah* for me,' he replied. And then, in answer to my question, he explained that the meat of the *Bos brachikeros* was forbidden to his family,



(21.121-32.)

ON A TREE AT THE UPPER BORA CIRCLE

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED AT THE GOVT. PRINTING OFFICE,
SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

and was an abomination to them, for the reason that, many generations ago, one of their women gave birth to a calf instead of a child. I laughed; but the king replied very soberly that he could shew me a woman of another family whose grandmother had given birth to a crocodile, for which reason the crocodile was '*roondah*' to that family. Quengueza would never touch my salt beef, nor even the pork, fearing lest it had been in contact with the beef. Indeed they are all religiously scrupulous in this matter; and I found on inquiry afterwards that there was scarcely a man to whom some article of food is not '*roondah*.' Some dare not taste crocodile, some monkey, some boa, some wild pig, and all from this same belief. They will literally suffer the pangs of starvation rather than break through this prejudice, and they very firmly believe that if one of the family should eat of such forbidden food, the women of that family would surely miscarry and give birth to monstrosities in the shape of the animal which is '*roondah*,' or else die of an awful disease. Sometimes I find that the fetich man forbids an individual to touch certain kinds of food for some reason, or no reason rather. In this case, the prohibition extends only to the man, and not to his family." Then as to the law of succession, he says: "It is very singular that among all these people descent and inheritance are taken from the mother. The son of a Camma man by a woman of another tribe or nation is not counted a Camma; and, if we narrow it down to families, to be a true Abouya—a citizen of Goumbi—it is necessary to be born of an Abouya woman. If only the father were Abouya, the children would be considered half-breeds." Another author says:—"The snake is the tutelary god of Whydah, as the leopard is that of Dahomey, and, according to African custom, the Dahomans, when they acquired Wydah, adopted the local divinity." And again:—"The alligator is sacred to Dixcove, the hyæna at Accra, the iguana at Bonny, the leopard at Dahomey, and the snake at Whydah."

VI.—SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC.

Temperament. Australians are naturally a merry, laughter-loving race, and, in this respect, they resemble the Papuans, but are quite unlike the Malays. This matter of temperament is a good test of the kinship of a race; for it is not subject to fluctuations, unless the race is swamped by a permanent amalgamation with a different race. An American Indian carries his impassive temperament on his face wherever he is; but if we examine the typical character of our Australians as a whole, it is true of them that they are lively and merry; their countenances, especially those of the young women, tell us that they are so; and if any one of us were seated at a native camp-fire after dark, and heard the stories that are told there, and saw the merriment and the laughter and the fun, we could not doubt that it is their nature to be happy, if their environment permit. This is also one of the characteristics of the African negroes; for it seems natural for them to be in good spirits, and this happy temperament promotes their vitality. Our Australian is a great coward when brought into contact with the unknown, especially if he can regard the thing as having some relation to the domain of spirits. One day when a blackfellow was present, one of my boys was blowing soap bubbles; the man was frightened when he saw them, and ran round the corner to hide from them. So his anger, and his courage, too, when roused by provocation or taunts, soon ebb away; he strikes suddenly, but straightway he is cool again; a black man has been known to spear his brother in a fit of passion, but as soon as he saw the evil he had done he burst into a paroxysm of grief and flung himself on the

prostrate body with weeping and wailing. Their natural affections are keen; in proof of this I need only refer to their grief over a dead relative, even though it be a very young child; they utter loud lamentations and cut and burn the flesh of their bodies in grief. This expression of grief is not all artificial or professional, like the hired 'ululatus' of the Romans or the 'keening' of the Irish. That it is genuine on the part of the near relatives of the deceased I can prove by examples. Jackey, the 'king' of the Gresford blacks, died and was buried; his mother could not be induced to leave the spot; she sat there night and day, refusing food, until one morning she was found dead on his grave. She was buried beside her son; and, not long after, a little dog that had belonged to the old woman was also found dead on her grave. These are facts. Then again, the transport of delight with which Buckley was received by a woman, of a local tribe who believed that this white man was her deceased son come to life again, is a proof of the strength of natural affection among them. Another native mother similarly rejoiced over Sir George Grey when he first penetrated into the interior of South Australia.

Much that is said of native inhumanity is not true; and so I add a few facts for the truth of which I can vouch. A woman of the Dungog tribule had a child which was hunch-backed and otherwise deformed; she carried it on her back for eighteen or nineteen years; it seemed always no bigger than a child of six or seven years. Her husband also carried about, for two or three years, a son whose feet from the ankles had been destroyed by frost-bite. At Durham Downs (Queensland), 'king' Brady had a little boy two years old, who became helpless from disease; the mother carried him about with her for many years. When a man is sick, his brother or other near relative has to tend him and go out hunting to provide him with food. "I had a black boy," says my friend, "who was about 20 years of age; he came to me asking permission to leave my service; for, he said, his brother was sick, and he was required to carry him about and get him food; if he did not go he would be killed." Again, this same 'king' Brady showed how a blackfellow can have the sentiment of gratitude. In his wandering life he had frequently received kindness from a storekeeper of the name of Adair, whose place was on the Connors River; on one occasion, when the river was in high flood, Adair attempted to swim his horse across, but was swept away by the torrent. Six white men were there looking on, afraid to give help; 'king' Brady, who was a very powerful man, above six feet high and well developed, swam in when Adair was about to go down the third time, and rescued him. This he did without the offer of reward! And now I give two instances of obedience, both of them taken from the experience of my friend, Mr. M. On one occasion, the master called his black woman servant towards dusk, and said to her, "Mary, you may now go for the cows," giving a wave with his hand to show where the cows were. Mary went off, and did not return for several days; when she came back, it turned out that the poor woman took it to mean that she was to go to the Balonne River—a distance of 50 miles. And she went! "One morning," said my friend to me, "all our station horses were missing. At that time we had two young black boys about 12 and 14 years of age. Thinking that the horses had only strayed to a little distance, we sent these two boys to look for them. The boys did not return that day, nor the next, nor the next, and we concluded that the boys had finally left us and joined their black friends in the bush. But after a week's absence, the two came back, bringing all the horses with them. The boys had tracked the horses across a country covered with thick scrub, to a river forty miles distant; there they

got them into a corner and tried to catch them, but without success, for the horses bolted; faithful to their task, the boys then followed them 25 miles down the river to D.G.'s place; there they ran them into his stockyard and put up the rails, thus securing them. All this time they had subsisted on such native food—opossums, roots, &c.—as they could find. D.G. now gave them food and supplied them with halters for the horses; the boys then rode the horses back to our place, barebacked. In this faithful service they must have travelled at least 150 miles, if we reckon all the wanderings they had in tracking." The same friend also said to me once: "On the discovery of the gold-fields all our white men left us, and we were for a long time entirely dependent on our black servants; they were always good, and useful, and obedient, and I cannot help liking the blacks because of their fidelity to us."

Some of those instances rather belong to a section on the moral and intellectual character of our Australians, but I have introduced them here because they have crossed my path at this point.

*Personal
Brands
and Orna-
ments.*

Anyone who has seen the bare back or breast of an Australian black man or woman will have observed various well-marked scars there. These I shall call 'mombarai'—a local native word in New South Wales which answers to the English word 'brand.' And although the other aboriginal dialects have different words to designate these scars and marks, yet here also it would be convenient if all would agree to use some one word to mean the same thing, when speaking of things Australian. 'Mombarai' is also used to mean a mark of ownership on an opossum cloak or on a tree in the forest. For example, the honey of the wild English bee or of the native bee, which is much smaller, is an important article of food to the black; when he sees these bees frequenting a hole in a tree, he knows a nest is there; or if he sees a single bee within reach, he catches it, fixes a tiny piece of white down on its body, and then sets it free; as it flies he follows it, and his acuteness of vision enables him to track it to its nest in a tree. In either case he marks his 'mombarai' on that tree, till he can return and cut it down. The next blackfellow who passes that way will not touch the tree, for he recognises the 'mombarai,' and knows by it whose the tree is.

It is usually said that the 'mombarai' on the body have no significance, and that the women have them merely for ornament and to add to their attractiveness. I can scarcely believe that there is no meaning in these marks. I think it likely that, like trade-marks among us, each family has its own 'mombarai;' for a friend tells me that he had an opossum cloak made for him long ago by a man of the Kamalarai tribe, who marked it with his own 'mombarai.' When this cloak was shown to another black some time after, he at once exclaimed, "I know who made this; here is his 'mombarai.'" To make this brand on a cloak, the maker folds the material at the place where he wishes the brand to be, and presses the fold; then, with the sharp edge of a cockle-shell or a piece of flint, or some more modern instrument, he scrapes off the pelt or the hair where the device is to be, until the pattern is formed. On the human body the brand is cut with a piece of a flint or of a glass bottle in some simple pattern, usually in corresponding portions, on both sides of the breast-bone, and sometimes on the back as well; the cuts bleed a good deal, and to make them deeper the knife is applied again and again. While the wounds are still open, hoar frost is rubbed in, or charcoal, and that causes well-marked ridges to remain permanently there. I imagine that, if we could trace these customs far enough back, we might find some religious

idea at the base of them all; for even the most senseless disfigurements of fashion do not originate in mere caprice; there is always some reason for them. And I am the more persuaded that there is significance in these scars, because I know that in the Minyung tribe they are not all made at once; there a lad is 'murrawon' when he has got the scars on the back, and he becomes 'kumban-gari' when the scars are made on his breast. At all events, they may serve the same purpose as the blazon on a seaman's arms or breast, and be useful in identifying a man's body if he has been disfigured on the field of battle; or, like the knocking out of the front tooth in the Bora ceremonies, the marks may help to identify him as a true blackfellow when he dies and descends to spirit-land.

All blackfellows are more or less marked on the body in this way, but not on the face; the thing is done when the person is young, perhaps from 6 to 12 years of age; the marks may be found also on the hips and the upper arm, and, in the case of women, between the breasts and down the back.

*Personal
Adorn-
ment.*

Here I include the nose ornament, the dressing of the hair, the head band, and the necklace. Other articles of wear are for dress. The nose ornament was worn by men; I say was, for, like other aboriginal customs, it has disappeared. The septum of the nose was pierced in youth, and two or three straight bits of tough grass were passed through the perforation and left there; when the wound healed, these were removed and a thicker pencil of grass inserted; and thus gradually the hole was enlarged until it was fit to receive permanently a longish bone which was scraped thin at the ends, and stuck out from the nose somewhat like the long waxed ends of an imperial moustache. I suppose that a black man thought that this adjunct to his nose-tip improved his personal appearance or made him look terrible in battle; but, as in the case of the body scars, I believe there is some religious significance at the base of it originally; for, in certain localities, the blacks say that unless a man's nose has been thus pierced his spirit will be subjected to great indignities when he is dead. Hence the women also wear the nose-bone.

Our blacks allow their hair to grow wild; they merely cut it when it is too long. Many of them, both men and women, have fine frizzly hair; others have straight hair; in fact, in some districts, the frizzly and curly hair seems to prevail, and in others the straight hair. So also the beard and moustache are, in some persons, abundant and bushy; in others, scanty, or nearly absent. But for special occasions, the men used to bind up their hair into a conical bunch upon their heads and keep it together below with a meshed net. The whole had the shape of the head and shoulders of a beer-bottle. The net was made of hair or of fibre from plants or from bark. To improve the appearance of this fillet, and at the same time to adorn the head, feathers from native birds were inserted in it in front, while at the sides strings of kangaroo teeth were made to hang down on the temples; and from the back part of it, the bushy tail of a native dog hung down like a *queue*.

The necklaces were worn by women and young girls. They usually were made of short lengths of a thin reed which were strung on a cord—like the necklaces of tube beads worn by our children. In Northern Queensland, sea-shells are ground and strung into necklaces, and elsewhere kangaroo teeth are tastefully fastened to a strip of kangaroo skin, which is then worn as a neck ornament. Our native women do not seem to care for personal adornment, nor do they use flowers or gay colours for that purpose; and in this respect they are in striking contrast to the Polynesians.

The articles of dress and clothing used by our men and women are few and scanty. The most important is a large cloak, made of the furry skin of the opossum or the wallaby. This is worn only in sickness and in the coldest part of the year, but it is seldom seen now in the occupied parts of the colonies, because everywhere, on Queen's Birthday, blankets are issued to all blacks who choose to come and ask for them. The labour required to prepare a cloak was considerable. Perhaps thirty or forty skins must be secured—good skins, with plenty of fur on them. These were dressed by pegging them each on a piece of bark to dry there. The inner side was then carefully scraped clean with a shell-knife. They were then cut into a proper shape, and sewed together. The finer sinews of a kangaroo were the thread, and the needle was of bone. This cloak or rug hangs over the shoulders, being merely tied round the neck by the hind legs, and fastened with a *fibula* of bone or of wood in front. The more artistic owners of cloaks, both men and women, ornament the inside of them with native devices, plain or coloured. The cloak is not worn in camp; there the heat of the fire is enough. A kangaroo skin, with the hair worn inwards, is a favourite kind of cloak in wet weather.

The only other article of clothing was the loin cloth. For men this was merely a strip of hide fastened round the loins, and from it were suspended two or four flaps of skin and fur, one in front and one behind, and two more on the outside of the thighs to keep these in countenance. Sometimes an oblong piece of hide was cut into narrow tags or cords, depending from a fillet left uncut, and this was substituted for the flaps before and behind. The young females wore a girdle of opossum fur, and at the native dances the women put on a deeper apron, formed of the neck feathers of the emu. In some places, their ordinary dress was a girdle of narrow strips of bark, with the bones of deceased friends hanging among them.

The man, when travelling, also wore a waist-belt, in which was placed his tomahawk, his amulet of crystals, his tobacco-pipe (if he had one), and any other things which he thought it necessary to carry with him. This sash was strongly made of twine or reedy fibre, twisted and knitted together, and was more for utility than for clothing. Of the same kind is the hunger-belt. When on an expedition, it was not always possible for a man to obtain food; so, when pressed by hunger, he could only tighten his belt and hurry on. It is made of hide with the fur on; but, as the hide is next the man's skin, the belt can take a good grip.

Another article may be mentioned here as part of a black man's clothing; but we now, in our country, would scarcely reckon it as such, although, even in Britain—

"Time was when clothing, sumptuous or for use,
Save their own painted skins, our sires had none."

A black man fortifies his body against the influences of weather and climate by anointing it regularly. The fat is saved from the animals which he kills, and with this he rubs his body all over, and lets it soak into the skin when liquefied by the rubbing or the heat of a fire or of the sun. To heighten the effect, he will also mix with the fat his favourite pigment, ruddle, the red oxide of iron. The fat of the emu is preferred, or the oil of the mutton bird, when the tribe has access to the coast. The hair, also, is greased with the same material, and, as it is not washed, it becomes a matted mass, or hangs down in tangles on the neck. In my district, however, the hair is clean. Either the fashion of using animal grease never existed, or the tribe has left it off.

At this point these aboriginal customs may be compared with similar usages among black tribes in other parts of the world; for comparative ethnography is as instructive as comparative grammar and philology.

At Port Moresby, in New Guinea, the young women wear a grass petticoat, and their bodies are so beautifully tattooed that they seem to be covered with the finest lace. The men are nude, and their faces only are tattooed, but that slightly. They blacken their faces with a mixture of soot and gum, and then sprinkle them over with white. Married women have their hair cut close. At Motu, on the same coast, not only the wives, but the children are shaven, and that is also done as a sign of mourning. The hair is sometimes straight, but for the most part it is frizzly, and apt to become like a mop. In colour it is brown-black. In Australia it is always a glossy black, although a few instances of reddish hair have been observed. The Motu people have the nose-stick, and wear a profusion of ornaments—heavy ear-rings, one or more armlets on the upper arm, and necklaces of pigs' or dogs' teeth for the women.

The Negrilloes of the Andaman Islands cover their bodies with a wash of white clay during the hot weather. Doubtless they find that this white colour makes the heat more supportable. In the Dekkan of Indian, and among the tribes there of the Dravidian race, there is a curious custom, which shows how tenacious of life an old mode of dress may be when the inroads of civilisation have displaced it in favour of more modern attire. In a small community there of the slave caste, the women wear gowns, but *over* these, all round their buttocks, they put on an apron of twigs and green leaves woven together. They think it shameful to appear without this. The Bechuanas of Southern Africa, in Livingstone's time, much resembled our Australians in the simplicity of their clothing. The men wore in front an apron about a span wide, and on their shoulders the dressed hide of a sheep or antelope. To support the heat by day and the cold by night, they smeared their bodies as our tribes do and they anointed the hair. The women had the breast and abdomen bare, but round their waist was a cord, and from it depended in front a lot of leather strings, about 18 inches long. On their shoulders was flung a cloak similar to that worn by the men.

*Shelters
and
Dwellings.*

The Arabs and other nomads dwell in tents. This is not so much a matter of choice as of necessity. A people whose circumstances make them wander about from pasture to pasture are deterred from raising permanent structures. They carry their houses with them, or put up temporary shelters wherever they encamp. Our blackfellows have not reached the pastoral stage, and yet they are wanderers. If they settle down at any spot for a few days, the food they get there by hunting or from roots may soon be exhausted, and they must move on; or a death occurs among them, and they flee from the spot; or they may come to imagine that their enemies, the evil spirits, are too numerous or too busy there, and so they decamp. When they reach a suitable place for a fresh camp, the women set to work and raise wind-shelters, called 'gunyas.' These are very simple affairs. Two strong sticks are fixed upright in the ground, each about 4 feet high, and having a fork at the upper end; across these forks a ridge-pole is laid; then leafy boughs or other materials are laid aslant from the ground to this pole; and thus the black woman's house is complete. The back of it has been so placed as to be a shelter from the wind, and if privacy is wanted—and blacks do not consider that as one of the essential wants of life—the opossum cloaks and a few skins will cover in the front and the sides. A fire is made in the open in front, and with dry grass

for a bed within, and a log, it may be, for a pillow, the 'mari' and his 'jin,' turning their feet to the fire, lie down happily content, and sleep the darkness of the night away. But wherever the 'taurai' contains a large lagoon, plentifully supplied with fish, or gives access to the sea, or otherwise contains the prospect of a continuous source of food, larger and more permanent structures are reared as houses. In the building of these the men take their share of the work. These huts are in shape something like a round dish-cover, 6 or 7 feet high, and will hold a family of twelve persons; a portion may be partitioned off as a separate room. You enter by a small door-opening, and the fire is in the centre of the hut. Or several families may choose to live together on some dry place near a river or lake. The blacks wisely avoid sites that are marshy or under trees. The huts are then built contiguous, like a terrace, all of them facing a central 'fire-place, which is common property. These substantial huts are framed with branches of trees and small logs fixed in the ground at one end, which are so sloped that they nearly meet at the other end; the whole is thatched with grass, or covered with sheets of bark and turf and foliage. The coast natives of Tasmania also built substantial huts, each of which would hold a score of people. They were thatched with reeds in neat and regular tiers. The Australians did not learn the art of building from the white settlers; for Captain Sturt, when he first penetrated into the interior, sixty years ago, found such huts there. "On the Macquarie River," he says, "several huts were observed by us, and from the heaps of muscle-shells that were scattered about, there could be no doubt of its being much frequented by the natives." And of the tribe farther west, he says, "The natives of the Darling are a clean-limbed, well-conditioned race, generally speaking. They seemingly occupy permanent huts. . . . They lacerate their bodies, but do not extract the front teeth." Elsewhere, as in some parts of South Australia, the natives make use of any stone that may be handy, and raise stone walls for their huts. In the north-west, Sir George Grey found erections of stone, which may have been used for shelter. But in the interior of Australia, and in the far north, there are extensive limestone formations, and there the natives are saved the trouble of building; for the caves in the limestone ridges give them an easy home. Here, also, they have room to display their love of art; for on the flat parts of the walls of these caves they carve figures of alligators, or pictures of fights between themselves and the colonists, all in red and white.

Food. It is evident, then, that the food-question is the one that determines a blackfellow in the choice of a habitation. If food is abundant, there he and his tribule will remain for a long time. It is thus that shell-mounds and oven-mounds are found in various parts of Australia; but they were specially numerous within the territory of Victoria. Their size, and the quantity of material they contain, are a proof that the natives of many successive generations must have made their residence there from year to year, while the supply of food lasted, returning again when the food season came round. On one estate in Victoria, there were eight or nine of these mounds, all near each other, and at a distance they looked like ordinary hay stacks. The largest was about 125 feet by 50 feet by 12 feet. It had been much broken down by the trampling of cattle and sheep, and therefore at one time was much larger. The material of all such heaps is soil, ashes, wood-charcoal, charred bones of the animals on which the natives feed, native implements, pieces of flint, and the remains of the hard silicious stones which are used for lining the oven and retaining the heat when it is covered in. On the sea coast also there are many shell-mounds, or 'kitchen middens,' which contain, in addition, great quantities of the remains of the shell-fish

common on that coast. One of these, near Cape Otway, was measured, and found to be 30 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep. Occasionally a human skeleton has been found in the mounds, as if the blacks had chosen that as the softest place for digging the grave of a deceased friend. The mounds are, in all cases, near to fresh water, for that is essential to the daily life of the people. The American mounds in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi seem to correspond with these oven-mounds in Australia.

And now, it is natural for us to ask what causes can have induced the natives always to frequent the same spot for cooking purposes, and to do so from age to age, until the mounds assumed their present dimensions; the whole thing is so unlike their usual habits. And then the mounds are so large that I can scarcely suppose that one single tribule has made any one of them even by the labour of ages. Either the local bands of blacks must have been numerous as swarms of bees in the past, and more steady in their habits than now, or there must have been occasions on which they assembled there in greater numbers than usual. I am inclined to think that the latter is a reasonable explanation, and that such ceremonies as those of the Bora and the Mindi-mindi drew the blacks together from all quarters and in great numbers, and kept them on the same spot for months at a time while the ceremonies lasted; thus the heaps would grow apace from the quantities of food consumed. In this view I am confirmed by the statement that these mounds are often found on the margin of a forest. This is the very position they would have if they were near the larger circle, around which the whole multitude assembled when the ceremonies of initiation were about to begin. And if these ceremonies were from time to time repeated at the same place, and the Mindi markets were also held there as a sacred place, I can easily understand how these mounds have grown. This, however, is merely a suggested explanation.

But there is proof that the blacks do gather from great distances and in great numbers and remain together while the temporary supply of food lasts. I refer to the annual feasting in the Bunya-bunya country. This is about 50 miles to the north of the town of Dalby in Queensland, and is named from the native trees—a kind of pine with prickly leaves—which are very abundant in that locality. The Bunya-bunya tree, in the proper season, bears a fir cone of great size—6 to 9 inches long—and this, when roasted, yields a vegetable pulp, pleasant to eat and nutritious. When the fruit-season approaches, the blacks may be seen journeying to that part of the country from distances of hundreds of miles, and there they remain feasting on till they are as fat as porpoises. Every third and seventh year there is said to be a larger crop than usual and consequently a larger and longer feast. Nature has been bountiful in providing such a tree and in such abundance for the natives of that portion of Queensland; for this vegetable food restores their health, which often suffers from their constant diet of animal flesh.

No other part of Australia, so far as we know, is so kind to the blacks; many parts are inhospitable, and there the natives have a hard struggle to live; hence comes the pinched and dwarfed carcass which many of them have to carry about all their lives. But in many other places, and especially near the rivers, there are indigenous trees which are fruit-bearing; to these the natives come in the season. Even far in the interior there are such trees; for the M'Kiulay expedition in 1861 found the inland natives roasting a round fruit, "which is very good." Almost all kinds of berries and seeds and some kinds of gum are collected and used as food; the soft root part of water-flags is eaten, and the soft pith of the fern-tree and grass-tree. Solutions

of gums and macerations of several kinds of flowers sweetened with honey are taken as a nutritious mucilage, and weeds such as 'pig-face' and 'fat-hen' are like our vegetables. The seeds of grasses are pounded and made into a sort of bread. On Cooper's Creek in the interior, the seeds of the 'nardu' plant—a kind of fern—are used in this way; but when eaten by our white explorers in their distress, this food was found to be indigestible and to contain little nutriment.

Then there are many sorts of esculent bulbs, which the colonists call by the general name of 'yams'; these, it is the duty of the women and the girls to search for and dig up with 'yam-sticks,' for the use of the household. A root much used by the blacks on the east coast is the 'tauk.' This is a vine which sends its tendril up to the tops of the highest trees, but the root is at first single and tuberous; as it goes down, it splits into two and becomes thicker as it goes; the roots descend 10 or 12 feet. Near the surface the root is about the thickness of one's finger; farther down as thick as a man's wrist. The blacks dig a hole round the roots, take out as much as they require for a meal, roast it, and eat it. At their leisure they return for more. 'Tara' is the root of a kind of lily; that is heated at the fire by the women; it is then pounded hard together bit by bit to remove the acrid taste it has.

But when a time of drought sets in, and the drought continues for one, two, or three years, as it has done sometimes in the interior of the country, the 'taurai' or food-ground becomes as bare and dry as a macadamised road; then ensues a time of hardship for the tribe, and fortunate it will be for them if they have access to a river or a lake. Our blacks are expert fishers, and have many modes of obtaining food in that way. One of their weapons is a fish-spear with three prongs, barbed. When our telegraph line was first carried across the continent to Port Darwin, on the north coast, to connect by cable with India, and thence to Europe, frequent interruptions occurred on the overland sections; the repairers found that the wires had been broken by the blacks and pieces taken away for the making of the prongs of their fish-spears. When a boy, the black man has been trained to dive and remain for a time under water; now, armed with a fish-spear, he jumps into the river wherever large fish are to be found; walking on the bottom with his eyes open, he dislodges the lazy fish from their lairs and kills them, or spears the smaller ones as they hurry past him.

Though wonderfully dexterous in this, the black man does not trust himself to his spear alone for success. At Brewarrina, on the Upper Darling, there is an ingenious fish-cage constructed in the river by the natives, and called by the settlers the "Fishery." The fish, which we call the "Murray cod," come up here, of all sizes, from 4 to 40 lb. weight. Here they lodge in the deep holes, and, feeding on muscles and smaller fish of their own and other kinds, they attain to a huge size, sometimes weighing as much as 120 lb. To catch these fish of the smaller size, the blacks took advantage of a "falls" or shelving part of the river just below a crossing-place, and placed in the river, from bank to bank, a solid wall of stones, each about as large as two men could carry. Below this weir, they laid in the river other stone walls at right angles to each other, much like the dividing lines of a chequer-board, thereby forming open spaces, each 8 feet square, and about 3 feet 6 inches deep. In these walls, which cross each other, they left small slits open from top to bottom and about 15 inches wide, thus large enough to let a fish of 40 lb. pass through. The wall of the weir next the ford was made the most substantial of all to resist the force of the current in the river. It also rose higher out of the water, the others

being just so much lower as to cause a slight ripple over them. This fish-trap is ingeniously constructed; for the builders of it, knowing the habits of the cod-fish, have so arranged the slits in the lower walls that the fish, in going upwards, can proceed only in a zigzag direction, and as they never try to turn back, they at last are collected in great numbers in all the squares, but mostly in the upper ones, from which there is no exit, as the wall is solid throughout. The river is here about 800 yards wide. Meanwhile, our blackfellows are standing on the tops of all the stone walls, and ply their spears with such effect that tons of fish are landed on the bank. At such a time, when the fish are abundant, the fishers cannot use a tithe of the fish they catch, and so sell them to all comers at a few pence for a backful. As for themselves, they have a noble feast, they and all their tribe; and, as is their habit whenever they have abundance, they gorge themselves so that their bodies are swollen to unnatural dimensions and seem ready to burst. When they can hold no more, they go to sleep like snakes, and sleep for twenty-four hours or more. In my district, Búndúvilla once ate so much beef at a meal that he had to be buried up to the neck in a pit of moist sand—a native cure—for two hours, in order to sweat off the surfeit. As soon as he was taken out cured, he began to eat again! Those ethnologists who say that our Australian blacks are the lowest of savage races would do well to visit the fishery at Brewarrina, and see with their own eyes how inventive and industrious these blacks can be in their own way. At what time in the past that fishery was made I do not know; but this I do know, that it is no despicable piece of rude engineering skill, and that much labour must have been expended in bringing these blocks of stone to the spot, and some risk to life in placing them where they are.

In the Northern Territory, a similar example of labour may be seen. The Limmen Creek, at a part of its course, breaks into two branches or streams. In order to form a *cul de sac* in which they might intercept the fish, the blacks closed the end of one of these branches with heavy logs, which had to be dragged to the water with much labour, and placed securely in it; and as such streams are often flooded by heavy rains, and carry everything away, it is probable that this barrier had to be frequently renewed. Such dams are found in many other places, but this one was remarkable for the skill and perseverance of its makers. On rivers and creeks in Eastern Australia, wherever the water is not deep nor the current strong, two slight obstructions of this kind are put in, and into the pond thus formed leaves of a native plant are thrown. The fish are soon seen to be stupified, and the blacks wade in and catch them with their hands. In the rivers of Carpentaria and the northern coast there are small crocodiles, 6 or 7 feet long, very harmless fellows, which live on fish and water fowl. The blacks spear and eat them. At Twofold Bay and along the south-east coast there, a stranded whale is a god-send to the tribes. When the news spreads, they come down in multitudes to enjoy the feast, and, for many days, they may be seen, like black ants, hurrying out and in to the body of the monster, even when the smell of it would be enough to keep any of us at a considerable distance.

Fish are also caught by net and by hook. In every family there is one girl who has been appointed to fish with line and hook. She is easily recognised; for her hand wants the end of the little finger. In youth a tight ligature was kept round the first joint, until the tip of the finger fell off. This is done to make the finger more sensitive to the line in fishing.

Another article of food is eggs and grubs of all kinds. The eggs of such a bird as the wild turkey or native bustard are large, and many of them in one nest; but a man or woman can eat a wonderful number of large eggs at

one sitting. Even if an egg is partly hatched, he does not reject it. The fat grubs that are found in the ground or under the bark of trees are also dainty morsels when roasted, and white men who have eaten them say that they are very palatable.

All kinds of reptiles are eaten—snakes, iguanas, lizards, and others, and on the northern rivers, turtles. Even frogs are cast on the fire and then eaten; but a blackfellow will not eat a snake unless he has killed it himself or seen it killed; for he believes that the snake, when wounded, bites itself in its pain and thus poisons its own flesh.

A novel kind of food is ants, but I can scarcely believe that they are much eaten; and yet a friend of mine saw a black woman put her naked foot on the bed of some red ants, and when they swarmed up her leg, as ants always do when thus disturbed, she scraped them off in handfuls and ate them! But young ants and ant-eggs dug from the beds are readily eaten.

Birds and fowl of all kinds are caught, cooked, and eaten—water-hens, ducks, hawks, owls, pigeons, and smaller birds; even the large emu is caught in nets. Our blacks are exceedingly ingenious and dexterous in trapping and killing all these. They can imitate to perfection the call of every bird, and thus decoy it and bring it within reach. If a man sees a pigeon on the branch of a tree at a distance, he stealthily approaches, keeping the body of the tree always between him and the bird until he is close to it, and then his stick does not miss its mark.

Almost every native animal in the bush or on the plains is killed and eaten. But an animal which is the 'totem' of any man's class is never touched by that man; to him it is sacred, and its flesh is 'thambara,' 'forbidden.' He thinks that the 'totem' watches over him, and gives him warning in time of danger, and so he will not harm it. As to the large and swift quadrupeds, you would think that it would be impossible for one man alone to catch a kangaroo; and yet he does it. A black man's eyesight is very strong and acute; he sees a kangaroo afar off grazing, long before it can see him. Immediately he adjusts his 'bumarang' in his belt, to have it ready for action, and slips away into the nearest thicket; here he tears out a bushy shoot, large enough to cover his body; he emerges and, carrying this before him, he cautiously advances; if the kangaroo looks around on hearing the rustling sound, fearing an enemy, at once the black crouches behind his screen and remains stock-still, as if he were a rooted sapling; the kangaroo, satisfied that there is nothing moving near, begins to graze again; and so the black gets near enough to give the fatal blow. When several kangaroos are seen grazing together, a band of men will stalk them in the same way by forming a circle; and when at last the circle has closed in, and the quarry, detecting the enemy, begin to hop away, they find a spear or a club everywhere near enough to stop their career.

Restriction of Food.

As a rule, the blacks do not care to eat fatty matter; hence they reject pork; they say it is too fat. The flesh of certain animals also they reject; the Tasmanians, for instance, would not eat their native tiger and native devil; and our own blacks do not like the flesh of the native bear because of its gummy taste. But in addition to voluntary abstention from the flesh of 'totem' animals, there are restrictions of food which tribal law imposes. To a lad who has not yet passed the Bora, food of certain kinds is absolutely prohibited; and while he is still passing through the stages of the Bora ceremonies, he is not allowed to eat the flesh of every animal he may catch; for the process of qualifying for full membership may extend over several years. In his tender years, the boy has

been taught that he must eat only the female of the opossum, or bandicoot, or other animals; all others that he gets must be brought to the camp and given to the aged and those who have large families; when he has attended one Bora, he receives permission to eat the male, say, of the 'paddymelon'; after another Bora, he may eat the 'sugar-bag,' that is, the honey of the bee; a step higher, and he may eat the male of the opossum, and so on until his initiation is complete, and then he may eat anything. An incident that occurred about fifty years ago will illustrate this matter. A dray was travelling on the Great Northern Road, and, as the driver was rather short of provisions, he said to his black boy, "Georgie, go and catch an opossum; we have no beef." Georgie soon got an opossum, and brought it to the camping ground, but threw it down beside the fire. His master said, "Why don't you skin it, and roast it and eat it." Georgie replied, "Bail (no) massa; me *wonnal* yet; you knew me must not eat 'possum." "But, Georgie, nobody will know; nobody will see you." "The Kruben, he see me; he come and take me; that fellow see everything." "Nonsense," said his master, "tell him I bade you; you eat." "Well, you are massa; you bid me eat, and I eat." And Georgie did eat at his master's bidding, and so escaped the Kruben! His master told me the incident many years thereafter.

Hunting. Our blacks have many ingenious ways of hunting and catching game, and thus of procuring food. Some of these ways have already been referred to; but they also make use of nets for the same purpose. They have nets for catching wild ducks. Being keen observers of nature, they know the habits of the ducks, and arrange their plans accordingly. Three or four men go together to a lagoon; two of them mentally calculate the direction in which the ducks will fly, and how high they will rise when disturbed, then quietly stretch a long net across from side to side, adjusting it to any trees that may be near by; the other man gets behind the ducks and startles them suddenly; they rise, but before they go far they find themselves entangled in the net, which the other blackfellows dexterously handle so as to entrap the birds. A stronger net with a larger mesh is used for catching the wallaby and the emu. For the wallabies, nets fixed on poles are set upright at various distances near their haunts; leading to these nets 'wings' are formed of sticks and boughs, in the same way as is done in South Africa; the hunters then distribute themselves in such a manner that when the covert is beaten up the animals hop onwards to the nets, and are there despatched. The emus are too large and swift to be secured in this way, and so the nets for them are spread at their drinking places.

The opossum is a nocturnal animal, and sleeps during the day in some hole in a tree. A hungry black man likes opossum, and so looks for one. In the forest he examines the lower trunk of the trees, and finds one which an opossum must have ascended last night for his daily rest; for, by the comparative freshness of the scratches made by the claws, he can at once tell how long it is since an opossum was there. Unslinging his tomahawk from his belt, he makes a notch in the tree near the ground, and in it he places the big toe of his right foot; resting on this and grasping the tree with his left arm, he makes another notch farther up, in which to rest the big toe of the left foot, and so up he goes with amazing rapidity and safety, until he reaches the animal's lair; if he can get his arm into the hole and pull out his prey, so much the less labour for him; but if not, he must ply his tomahawk until he digs it out. The same thing must be done for the nest of the honey-bees; for the bees have their combs far up in the hollow of a large tree, and, as the honey may have been accumulating there for several years,

an enormous quantity of it is often got from one hive. If a native finds it best to dig out the hive, he climbs the tree and cuts into the side where it is. How he protects himself from the stings of the bees I do not know. But often it is preferable to cut down the tree. Then ensues a great feast. The honey is mixed with water in native buckets, and, as usual, the people eat and drink to excess, which excess brings on the usual consequences of a surfeit of sweet things.

Dogs. The dog deserves notice as an auxiliary to our indigenes in their hunts. Long before the advent of the white man, the Australians had tamed and domesticated the native dog of this island. It is a wolf-like animal of a reddish colour, and with a fine bushy tail. In size it is somewhat larger and stronger than a shepherd's dog. The first colonists called it 'dingo,' a native name, and that name has established itself, and is now the science-term for the 'dog of Australia,' although the same dog is found also in New Guinea. But this name, like kangaroo, was originally given in error, at a time when the native languages were imperfectly understood; for, in the dialect of the Sydney tribe, 'tingko' means 'a bitch,' while its general name for a native dog is 'warikal.' But when the white man came to these shores, and brought his dog with him, the natives ceased to train their own dogs for the hunt, and now a native can scarcely be seen anywhere in the bush without a following of two or three mongrels at his heels. These dogs share his affections with his wife and children. He tosses to them a portion of all his food, and at night he sleeps with them in his bosom to keep him warm.

Cooking. The only thing that remains to be said as to food is the cooking of it. That is easily done; for in general, the smaller animals that are taken as food get only a sight of the fire, and the flesh is eaten half raw. A fire is always burning in a native camp; or, if it is smouldering, it can soon be blown into a blaze, when a little fresh fuel is placed upon it. Grubs, lizards, fungi, and other small articles, are merely laid on the hot ashes and forthwith eaten. Native bread, such as the colonists call 'damper,' is made in the same way. The native seeds have been carefully pounded or crushed into a coarse meal. This is mixed with water on a piece of bark for a baking board. This dough is made up into a lump, which is put among the ashes and covered over with them. In a very short time it is baked enough to be used. Farinaceous roots are prepared in the same way as a sort of pudding. When a native wants to cook a bird, he puts it in the embers just as it is; he takes it out, when its stomach is swollen a little, and, ripping up the stomach, he removes the entrails and strips off the feathers. The kidneys, being a dainty bit, he probably eats as they are. With a skewer he now fixes up the stomach, and puts the bird back into the fire until it is fully cooked. Taking it out again, he pulls out the skewer, and drinks the gravy which has collected in the body of the bird. With his tomahawk he cuts out the backbone, and, seizing the carcass, he bends the two portions outwards till the bones of the breast are exposed. These he takes out one by one, and after sucking the meat from the ends of them he tosses them to one and another of his dogs. When he has satisfied his own hunger, he shows his complacency by a grin and a 'ha-a,' and then he throws the leavings to his less lucky companion, who has been unsuccessful in the chase, and who has been sitting by all this time.

For cooking the larger animals, and for providing a family supply of food, ovens are used, and the ovens themselves and the mode of cooking are similar to those among the Polynesians. A hole is dug in the ground, and

is plastered with clay or mud ; the kindling is put in and the fuel heaped on ; when the fire burns down, the embers are raked out, and the oven is lined with damp grass ; the fish to be cooked, or roots, or animals, all properly prepared, are now put in the hole in baskets, and the whole is covered up with damp grass and earth above. This remains so all night, and in the morning the contents are found nicely cooked. Several families may join in making a large oven, each putting its own baskets in the oven. For kangaroos, emus, native turkeys, and other large animals, the oven is lined with hard stones instead of clay. The tail of the kangaroo is much valued for a double reason ; the long sinews are pulled out from it, and dried and stored ; these are strong, and are much used for tying handles, &c., on native weapons or tools, and for sewing ; the tail itself, after the hair has been singed and scraped off, is roasted as it is, and is esteemed a delicacy. The hair of the opossum, too, is valued for domestic uses. It is carefully taken off before the animal is cooked, and the women of the household make it into fine cord by twisting it on their knee with the hand, much in the same way as the cobbler twirls his thread. The opossum is not skinned for cooking ; the entrails are first taken out through an incision made in the breast ; the cavity is then filled up with herbs, and the whole is roasted at the fire ; the carcase is thus made to retain its juices, and, when cold, it can be carried about as provisions and will keep for a considerable time. To keep blow-flies from cooked food such as that, they hang it in the smoke of their fires.

Cannibalism. There is one kind of food that must be mentioned here, although I believe that it was never common among all the tribes, and the blacks in the settled districts, if questioned, will deny that it was ever used by their tribes—I mean human flesh. Yet there can be no doubt that they were cannibals, occasionally at least. And this custom arose, not from the pressure of necessity, but, as I think, from quite another principle. A native has the idea that the mental and moral, as well as the physical, qualities of a man reside in his flesh or in his internal organs ; and here even the classical nations of antiquity agree with him ; for they place the seat of many of the passions and affections of humanity in the physical heart, the liver, the reins, the bile. Hence he imagines that by eating the heart or the liver of a brave or a wise man of his race, recently dead, he acquires something of the wisdom and bravery of the deceased. The hand of a white man was a valued morsel, because he who ate of it became partaker of the manual dexterity of the victim. And so, in my district many years ago, a 'jin' was known to carry about in her bag the remains of the hand of a stockman whom they had killed. And so it is also in Queensland after a battle ; it is not the dead bodies of slain enemies that are eaten, but the bodies of friends. These are put in a large oven just as they are, and, after a few hours, are taken out and the choice parts are eaten. In another part of Queensland the body is skinned before it is cooked, and the skin is wrapped round a bundle of spears. To make this memorial more personal, the hair of the head is left on it and the finger-nails ; it is carried about to visit the places where the relatives of the victim are encamped ; and these then make the usual lamentations for the dead.

Again, it is quite possible that the offering of human sacrifices, and the feast upon the sacrifice, in which the worshippers had to eat a portion of the offering, may have had some share in leading men to cannibalism. There is no evidence whatever, nor even a suspicion, that our blacks ever offered sacrifices ; but if, in the home of their origin, their first ancestors were in contact with a race that did so, the custom of eating the flesh may have been copied from that race without adopting the sacrifice.

At all events, if the origin of cannibalism in the far past be such as I suppose, it is not hard to understand how easily the habit of eating human flesh drifted from its original moorings, and began to spare neither aged relatives nor children. A plump child is here considered a sweet mouthful, and, in the absence of the mother, clubs in the hands of a few wilful men will soon lay it low. On one occasion, a grown woman, who was in very good bodily condition, overheard some men plotting for her destruction; but, showing herself suddenly in the midst of their *præ morte* deliberations, she so chastised them with the lash of her indignant tongue—and a black woman can scold in the choicest of vituperation—that the conspiracy was at once broken up. This habit of cannibalism is so established among certain tribes in Queensland that it has passed into a by-word there. Some years ago, when the increasing number of the Chinese was causing some uneasiness at a portion of the coast, it became customary to say, jocularly, "Oh, just send up country for the Diamantina River blacks; they will soon rid us of them." But, in point of fact, Australian blacks do not like the flesh of foreigners; they say the flesh of a white man is too salt.

In closing this section on food and cooking, I need scarcely say that our blacks had no knowledge of the working of metals, and used only wooden water vessels before the white man came; so all their food had to be put *in* the fire, not *on* it. There was no cooking by boiling, nor could they get hot water, except by putting hot stones into the water in their buckets.

In this matter of Australian food and cooking, other lands present many points of correspondence. The Fijians, too, were cannibals, and their ovens, whether for cooking 'long pig' or 'fat pig,' were much like those of Australia. A hemispherical pit was dug from three feet to five or six feet in diameter, according to circumstances; the firewood was put in the bottom, and on it a lot of stones that would bear the heat without cracking; when the fire burned down, the ashes were raked out, and the hot stones were thus left in the bottom; the pig, wrapped in large leaves, was laid on this, and above it the bread-fruit, or 'taro,' or whatever else was to form part of the meal; the whole was then covered with a thick layer of leaves, and over that a bed of earth. Two or three hours were needed for the heating of the oven, and two or three hours more till the food was ready; the food was thus both baked and steamed. The 'ndalo' ('taro') of the Fiji larder is the '*arum esculentum*.' Like our Australians, the Fijians also catch fish in fresh water by putting a native plant in the water to intoxicate them. In the Chittagong district of South-Eastern India, the hill people do the same. They form a dam in a stream, and put in it a certain kind of plant; by it the fish are stupefied, and float on the surface belly upwards. They have also an edible plant called 'tara,' something like asparagus. In the Dehli territory the Dherh caste will not eat hog's flesh. Our blacks too do not like pork.

Fire. Essential to the art of cooking is the element of fire. Like other nations all the world over, the Australians have myths about the origin of fire. One is—"Two men of their race, who are now divine or, at least, astral, were journeying together. The only food of the one was snakes and eels. One day, not being hungry, he buried a snake and an eel. When he came back to eat them, he saw fire issuing from the ground where they were. He was warned by his companion not to approach; but he declared he did not fear the fire, and boldly came near. Then a whirlwind seized him, and carried him up 'above the sky,' where he and his companion still are, and he can be seen any starry night." A Tasmanian legend is this: "Long, long ago, there

was no fire in my country. Two blackfellows came ; they stood on the top of a hill ; they threw fire like a star down amongst the black men, my countrymen ; they (my fathers) were frightened, and ran away. After a while they came back, and made a fire—a fire with wood ; fire always now in our land. These two blackfellows are now in the clouds. In a clear night you can see them like two stars." These two legends are quite independent of each other. The former comes from the blacks of my own district in New South Wales, and was given to a friend of mine only ten years ago. The other is at least thirty years old.

Fire is so necessary to their comfort that the blacks use the utmost care never to be without it. On the march the women carry with them a piece of smouldering wood of grass-tree or honeysuckle, or other suitable kind, so as to be able to make a fire at once whenever the party halts ; and, to provide against accident to this piece of kindling, they also carry in their bags some pieces of touchwood and the rub-sticks wherewith to make fire. To procure fire two things are necessary—a piece of soft, fibrous wood on which to operate, and a hard close-grained stick with which to operate ; and there are two ways of operating—by rubbing or by twirling the stick. A black-fellow sets to work thus : he looks for a log or a detached piece of the soft wood he requires, and, selecting a susceptible spot in it, he inserts there his twirling stick upright. Round the point of it he places a little of his touchwood or some dry grass, if it is handy. Now, applying the palms of his two hands to the twirling stick, he makes it revolve very rapidly, and keeps it going by shifting his hands in an instant to the top as soon as they have slipped too far down for comfort. Heat is soon generated, and smoke appears. With a very gentle wind from his mouth, this is encouraged to burst into flame, and the whole thing is done so dexterously that in two or three minutes he has kindling enough to make a fire. But the blacks say that this is hard work, and, if they are journeying with white men, they clamour for matches before they undertake it. If they are alone, unhappy is the quarter of an hour to the 'jin' who has suffered her piece of kindling to go out, and has thus imposed the labour. In the other process, the friction goes by rubbing, not by twirling. A longitudinal cut is made in the piece of soft wood, and a small cross-cut about midway to receive the touchwood or grass. The hard rub-stick is then passed vigorously and swiftly along the groove, and in a very little time fire is obtained as before. The rubbing method is more common than the twirling ; but the spread of the white man's matches has rendered it here, as in Fiji, nearly obsolete. If there is any chance that the natives, when travelling, may not find suitable wood for fire-making, they carry with them strips of bark of the 'iron-bark' tree, which is very fibrous and fluffy, and therefore suited for kindling, and a piece of the flower stalk or cane of the 'grass-tree' on which to operate. In Western Victoria it is the thigh-bone of a kangaroo, at one end sharpened to a point, that is used as the twirler. A small hole is bored in the cane down to the pith as a socket for the twirler, or dry touchwood is stuffed into the end of the cane. The twirling begins, and fire is produced as before. In New Caledonia also, the natives, when on the move, carry with them a lump of smouldering wood for the making of a fire. This method of drawing out the *semina flammæ* by friction has been known to all nations, and is probably as old as the existence of man.

Daily Life. As is fitting, a black man's day may be said to begin at night. If he has been fortunate in his hunting, he has a copious meal whenever he returns to camp at sunset, and soon thereafter he and his family retire to rest. But if they are at all wakeful or in a happy mood,

several families will sit late round the camp-fire and amuse themselves with stories, or with narratives of what they have seen or heard or done in the past, or with tales of adventure in battle or journeying, or with jokes and riddles. All the while they laugh heartily at anything that tickles them. Here is a genuine blackfellow's riddle. "A long time ago there lived an old woman of our tribe, who was so strong that she could overpower any of the men. So she used to catch young fellows and eat them. One day she caught a young man, and left him bound in her 'gunya,' while she went to a distance to cut some sheets of bark to wrap the body in before she laid it in the fire where it was to be cooked. While she was away two young women, who had observed her doings, slipped into the hut and released the prisoner. They then hurried to the river; and, first knocking some holes in the bottom of the old woman's canoe to hinder pursuit, they all escaped safe to the other side in another canoe. Meanwhile, the old dame returned, and saw that her prisoner had gone. She hastily repaired her damaged canoe, and crossed, but only to find the young man surrounded by his friends, ready to defend him with their spears. She boldly advanced, heeding not the spears thrown at her, although they were sticking in her body everywhere. She had seized the young man, and was making off with him again, when the great wizard of the tribe opportunely arrived; and, giving magical power to the blow, thrust her through and through with his spear. Thus the young man was safe. *Question*: Who was this old woman? Do you give it up? Well, then, it was a *porcupine*." Now, although there is not much ingenuity in this riddle, yet it reveals two things—the existence of cannibalism, and the belief that a wizard's magic can overpower all natural strength and every opposing influence.

If the black man sleeps soundly, the evil spirits do not visit him during the night; but sometimes, especially when, as I suppose, there has been too much kangaroo or wallaby at the evening meal, a demon visits him and carries him away roughly and rudely to its abode, drags him about, and puts him in great fear; but towards daybreak he is always brought back, and placed quietly in his own 'gunya.' He firmly believes that this kind of nightly pastime is the pleasure of the evil spirit, and so he takes it kindly. That affects his body; but his own spirit or ghost also goes away on adventures during the night. He believes that he has two spirits—a spiritual and a physical 'ego'—a sort of 'animus' and 'anima.' Of this dual existence of his, the mortal part ceases to exist after death, but the other lives on. But, even in his lifetime, the 'anima' or 'geist' may leave his body for a while, and then come back again, as when he is in a faint or in a sleep. After sleep he remembers that his 'geist' left him during the night, and went forth on its own business or pleasure. After a faint he knows that his spirit went from him on some errand or other, but he also knows that it has returned, and so he does not trouble himself much about that. Even when he is dying and his spirit has gone, if a friendly wizard is near and observes the accident in time, the spirit may be pursued and overtaken, and brought back, and the sick man lives again. But an evil wizard, even when the man is well, may come during the night, and by his arts take out his kidney fat. Then the man is sure to die soon. These are the only experiences which an Australian may have during the night, unless he chances to awake for a time; then he may hear the evil spirits—which, in this instance, are only the voice of some native animals—near his bed, talking to him or to each other, and doubtless meditating mischief. Then he looks anxiously towards his camp fire; and, if he sees it still alight, he complacently falls asleep again; for he knows that the

fire will keep all evil influences far from him and his. But our black man's slumbers may be disturbed by more dangerous visitors than these. A revenge party from a neighbouring tribe, with which there is an unsettled blood-feud, may have stealthily come in to the camp, and before he is aware of their presence a spear may be driven through his body and pin him to the ground; and he or any other man may be taken as a victim; for if any one of the tribule that has done the wrong can be slain, then atonement is made and the blood-feud is wiped out.

Before daylight they are all awake, and are soon astir. Their toilet does not take much time, for it is of the simplest description. There is no night gear to fold and lay away for its next use; for they all sleep naked, or in the coldest nights with only a fur skin over them. There are no morning ablutions; no brush and comb for the hair; no garments to fix carefully on the body; for in their natural state the waist-belt and its appendages are their only wear; and so they are soon ready for the morning meal. And thus the day's labours begin.

Any one who sees them at a meal will notice that the natives are careful to destroy all the fragments which they leave; they throw them into the fire or bury them. Again, it has been noticed that they are always careful of their sanitary arrangements, whether in camp or on the tramp. With a stick they remove a piece of turf and dig a small hole, and, leaving there what nature casts off, they cover it up again. Even water is strewn over with rushes, lest any one treading on it should be defiled. All this seems to arise from cleanliness; but there is a deeper reason for it; a black man believes that any portion of himself, as his hair, or of the food he has left, if found by a hostile wizard, may be used against him, and made up into a charm to do him harm. Hence his care to destroy all that, or cover it from view.

After breakfast the men of the camp set out on the hunt, and are probably away all day; if there is already enough of provisions at home, they lounge about, making spears and other weapons, or fixing the tools or weapons that they have. Nor are the women idle; they go out, and with the yam-stick dig up food-roots, gather seeds and wild tree-fruits or berries of plants, collect eggs, and otherwise do their share in filling the family larder. Within doors, if we may so speak, they busy themselves in spinning into thread and cord the bundles of opossum hair which they have in their baskets, or in making up the thread into nets and bags; or in plaiting rushes into baskets; they also sew skins together to make rugs. The children, meanwhile, have been enjoying themselves in their own way with games of lively movement and exercise, such as children everywhere love to have; or they go to the river, girls and boys together, and enjoy themselves as much in the water as they do on the land. They throw themselves in doubled up, and thus make a great splashing noise. They pursue each other in the water, and swim and dive like ducks. When they get bigger, these children pass on to other employments; the girls remain with their mother and learn all she can teach them, and help her in her labours. When he is 7 or 8 years of age, the boy goes forth with his father to the chase; here he learns to stalk the kangaroo, to recognise on a tree the marks of an opossum's recent ascent, to knock down the pigeon from its branch, to follow the honey-bee to its nest, and all other accomplishments which, if he were in old England, would have been included under the name of 'woodcraft.' He is thus early taught to exercise his faculty of observation, and he becomes quick of eye and acute in understanding all natural

phenomena, and in detecting the disturbances which the foot of man or of beast has worked in the aspect of nature around him. And so, at a tender age, he can tell, by the faintest tread on the grass or on the bare soil, by the stones which the passing foot has upturned, or the pieces of dry wood broken on the rocky ground, how many men have gone that way, and how long before; and thus he grows up to be a man, fit and capable, like his father before him.

Perhaps a visitor from a distance, or a messenger arrives during the day. He does not walk up to the door as we do, and forthwith announce himself; native etiquette forbids; he makes a circuit behind the hut and then sits down in front of it. He does not now look at anyone there, but his eyes seem to roam in every other direction. Perhaps he takes out his pipe and begins to smoke. After a while the person in the 'gunya' speaks to him, and all tongues are then unloosed. The following incident illustrates this custom. Two blacks in my district were sent to gaol for a serious offence. One of them died in gaol, and the other, on his release, went home. When he approached the paternal residence, he made the usual circuit round it and sat down. After a long silence his mother uttered a scream; and, seizing a tomahawk, she hacked her head in so savage a manner that her husband rushed out and took the weapon from her. This was her way of showing grief. The father then sat down, placed his baking board—a piece of bark—before him, washed his hands, wiped them dry on his thighs, took flour and water, mixed them, and baked a damper; then he gave a piece to his son. This was the family reconciliation.

Besides the bags netted from the hair cord, the women also make baskets of grass and reeds. The baskets are so tightly and carefully woven that they keep out water, and, like the bags, are very creditable examples of manual skill. While the women are thus engaged the men are probably sitting at the fire working up gum with which to fasten their tools and weapons, or kneading the pipeclay to streak their bodies with for the 'karábaries,' or native dances. The gum they use is chiefly that which comes from the native grass-tree (*xanthorrhœa*). It is resinous, exudes from the stem, and hardens into bulbs which have to be softened at the fire, and worked, like cobbler's wax, until it is soft enough for use. It is then applied as a cement to bind, say, a stone axe to its haft, the joint being made secure by lashings around it; for this purpose the strong sinews of the kangaroo's tail are used. Or, while the women and girls are busy with their netting or other domestic duties, the men have the boys away with them in the bush, and are training them to the right use of tools. They teach them to know which woods are suitable for the fabrication of the various kinds of spears, and 'bumarangs,' and clubs, and show how these should be cut and scraped and ornamented. If a piece of suitable spearwood has a twist on it, they direct the boy to rub it well with grease, and put it again and again in the fire for a little, and then bend it until it is quite straight.

And so on through the day the blacks are occupied with these employments and enjoyments, until night again comes on and calls them to the evening meal and sleep. Considerable diversity, however, is sometimes imported into their daily life by an occasional battle with enemies from another tribe, or a set fight with a chosen party from a friendly tribule for the settlement of a grievance, or the excitement which arises when one of themselves has to stand out at the bidding of the tribal council and take his punishment for some social offence, or by an elopement, a marriage, a wake, and a burial.

Diseases. An epidemic may also spread from tribe to tribe, and cause much commotion. A friend says:—"When I arrived in Dungog in 1840, I observed several oldish men deeply marked with traces of smallpox, and, on questioning them, I found that when they were young a fearful epidemic of this complaint had raged in the district and carried off great numbers of the aboriginal population. I was informed that, when the disease first appeared, they were camped at a place now called by the whites 'Black Camp Creek.' Here the disease was of a very virulent type, and, after a week or so, they were unable to bury their dead, and day by day kept moving onwards, leaving their dead on the ground. Before this the district was populous, but after it the blacks never recovered their numerical strength."

This leads me to consider next the diseases of the blacks as a part of their social system; for there is no doubt that the foreign habits which they have learned from civilisation have changed their personal and social condition, and have materially contributed to their decay as a race. In their native condition, the men and women are almost impervious to the weather; for they are independent of clothing and hardened against the changes of the atmosphere; their natural food, such as I have described it, suits the physiological constitution which they have inherited from a long line of ancestors; and their free, wandering life has become part of their nature. But now, in all the districts in Australia to which civilisation has come, they wear the cast-off clothes of the white settlers, or the blankets which the Colonial Governments distribute to them once a year. These often get soaked with rain; and yet the natives, knowing no better or having no change of clothing, or caring not, still move about all day long with these wet garments on, and throw them off only when they lie down to sleep with their feet to the camp-fire. In the morning, the garments are still wet, but they are put on and worn again just as they are. Hence comes the prevalence of pulmonary disease which now makes such havoc among our blacks; and this not because of any neglect or injury on the part of the colonists, but just because their contact with civilisation compels the indigenes to adopt habits which injure them. And so also in respect of their food. The food which they get from us is to them artificial, and does not suit their physical wants. Our sheep runs and cattle stations have occupied their hunting ground, and they cannot easily get their natural food, even if they were to seek for it. Flour, bread, and salt beef or boiled mutton, and tea, are to them poor substitutes for their 'bunya' and fungi, and grubs, and kangaroo, and opossum, and honey, and fish. They feel that they have no home and no country; for the white man, they say, has taken all from them. And so from impoverishment of blood and the susceptibility to disease which it brings, and from the aimlessness of their acquired modes of life, they droop and die, and will continue to droop and die till they are all gone, despite the fostering care of our colonial rulers. Happily, one fruitful source of decimation in the past has been stopped by legislation. The blacks had learned to like the white man's 'fire-water,' and could buy it in the shops, if they had pence enough for a glass. Often have I been pained to see an old man who used to visit my house put on his most persuasive countenance and whispered tones of voice, while he begged me to give him "only one penny, massa, to buy tugar," when I well knew that as soon as he gathered three or four pennies he would buy, not sugar, but its distilled product, rum. But the law now forbids publicans, under heavy penalties, to sell intoxicating drinks to any native.

In their natural estate, their diseases are few in number, but generally severe; for, want of shelter and the absence of proper vegetable and farinaceous food, give a sick man very little chance of recovery. The 'vis

medicatrix natura is their best friend when they are sick, but they supplement and assist it by simple remedies, such as drinks from native herbs, the moist-earth cure, and bandages with moist clay for wounds; and a black man's wound heals very rapidly. For severe colds they use the earth-bath. A deep hole is dug in some soft moist ground; the patient stands in it, and the earth or sand is filled in around him up to the neck; there he remains groaning and sweating profusely for two or three hours, all the time receiving only a few draughts of water. As might be expected, the bath either kills or cures. But their most common diseases are catarrh, phthisis, pneumonia, ophthalmia, rheumatism, dropsy, and concretionary lumps in the stomach from the use of hard indigestible food. Variola has also in the past made fearful ravages among them, as I have just shown. Contagious fevers and some other diseases have been communicated by white men. As they use so little vegetable food, boiling in water being impossible to them, and eat animal food at the most roughly cooked by roasting, they are afflicted with hydatids and inveterate skin diseases, which are aggravated by their habit of sleeping with their dogs in their bosoms. Scabies is thus common; the hair falls off and leaves bald patches on their bodies. There is some reason to believe that variola and syphilis existed among them before the coming of the whites, but it is extremely difficult now to obtain satisfactory evidence to that effect. Even desperate wounds received in battle are seldom fatal unless they touch a vital part; protruding bowels have been replaced, the gash closed with gum, and held together by a plaster of leaves, and soon the man was well again. When a man is severely wounded in battle, he can feign death and lie as still as a corpse until the enemy departs. All Australians show themselves quite insensible to pain. They bear their wounds and tribal punishments, or a surgical operation, without flinching. Thirst and hunger they endure with indifference.

For some diseases, the 'karáji,' or native doctor, when he is called in, makes passes with his hand over the body of the sick man, much in the same way as a mesmerist will do. This, however, is done as exorcism to the pain and the disease, not as a piece of therapeutics. In the Motu district of New Guinea, the sorcerer does exactly the same thing, but he is paid for it, while our Australian 'karáji' is highly esteemed, but not paid.

As to negro diseases in Africa, Dr. Livingstone says:—"The most prevalent diseases are pneumonia, produced by sudden changes of temperature, and other inflammations, as of the bowels, stomach, and pleura, with rheumatism, and diseases of the heart. Every year, the period preceding the rains is marked by an epidemic. Sometimes it is general ophthalmia, resembling that which prevails in Egypt; at another time it is a kind of diarrhoea, which no medicine will cure until there is a fall of rain, when anything acts as a charm. Among the Makololo, fever is almost the only disease prevalent. There is no consumption or scrofula, and but little insanity. Small-pox and measles visited the country some thirty years ago, but they have not again appeared. I have seen but one case of hydrocephalus, a few of epilepsy, and none of cholera or cancer, while many diseases common in England are quite unknown."

Amusements. A merry people always love amusements, and if those that have come to them from their fathers are not enough they invent others. In civilised countries, the persistence of children's games is very noticeable, and in different countries certain sports and pastimes have so established themselves among adults that these have become characteristic and national. The only national sport which our

Australians have is the 'karábari' (*q.v.*). It is usually said that the 'karabari' is only a dance, but I am strongly of opinion that, like the ancient dances in their origin, it has something of religion in it. A 'karabari' of which I was a witness led me to think so. It was thus:—At a given place the men assembled after nightfall, dressed in their gayest attire—their own swarthy skins—with their face, body, and limbs fantastically decorated with streaks of white and red. They set up a pole, about ten feet long, tipped aloft with a bunch of heath or other green foliage. The men arranged themselves in a crescent form opposite the pole, but at some distance from it, at intervals of a few feet from each other. The 'jins' meanwhile placed themselves on the ground beyond the pole, but facing the performers, ready to give an accompaniment of music with their voices and some sticks which they held in their hands and struck together to the rhythm of the music. All being in their places, the dance begins; the music strikes up; the blackfellows turn their bodies first to the right, then to the left, stretching out their hands in unison; talking and shouting all the while. Continually repeating these regulated and uniform movements, they slowly advance towards the pole, closing up as they advance; at last they cluster thickly round it, and simultaneously throw up their arms several times towards its top, with loud cries. Thus ended that 'karabari.' In it the slow and subdued movements, the gradual approach, and the uplifted hands and voices at the end appeared to me to give the whole dance the character of an act of worship and invocation.

It is also true that a merry people give permanence to their mirth in the form of *Songs*. Our blackfellows have numerous songs, which are used at their 'karabaries,' but they frequently turn the ordinary incidents of their daily life into song, and improvise on what they see going on around them. They are keen satirists and excellent mimics, and in these self-made songs a white man who may be present is sure to come in for a share of good-natured comment, even although the 'improvisatore' be a friend. A gentleman (Mr. McI.) who was well known for his kindness to the blacks on his estate was invited to be their king by the local tribule, and he was looking on at what may be called the ceremony of his investiture, which, as usual, took the form of a 'karabari.' The blacks had made a figure of Mr. McI., crowning it with a good imitation of the helmet hat which he usually wore. In their songs, made for the occasion, they spoke freely of him and his peculiarities, and told how the white man had come there and taken their country from them. These are occasional songs prompted by the circumstances on hand; but the words of the proper 'karabari' songs are often unintelligible to those who use them; and this confirms me in the belief that there is something religious about them. I know of one song which was composed by some men of a tribe far off; this song and the dance suitable to it were passed from tribe to tribe by men detailed for the purpose, until, when it reached my district, those who sang the words did not know what these meant. And why should this persistence be maintained unless there be some sacredness in the thing? Here is the song of an old 'karaji'—apparently an incantation song—which even his own daughters could not translate for me:—(v. 1) Burraiyo, burraiyo; (v. 2) oyá nuará; (v. 3) bindari, bindari; (v. 4) nunnalga, a ya nunnalgá; which verses may be repeated *ad libitum*. The air to which the whole of this was sung was very pleasant to the ear, and the old man, as he got near the end of his singing, repeated the last words very fast, and then broke out into a loud laugh. The next is a Kamalarai song of a very simple kind. It is—Ngaia bula manga bundára, bundára, bundára (*da capo*;

ad libitum); which means, 'I two got kangaroos, kangaroos, kangaroos.' Here are some Minyung songs:—(v. 1) Windia bugga kulli? (v. 2) ngaiabaia bugga; (v. 3) kouwango kanggun kulli; (v. 4) ngaiabaia bugga; which means, 'Where (is) the shield?—I have the shield;—Angry they (are) over there;—I have the shield.' Another is:—(v. 1) Waia kauliga; (v. 2) ling-gullumme naga; (v. 3) gommarabil naga; which means, 'Up above go bowing; behold Lingullen; behold the rainbow-coloured one.' Each line of these two songs may be repeated any number of times. Another Minyung song is:—(v. 1) Yerrúbilla, ngarrella, injegunga? (v. 2) paigal bummollen, ngullengwengarri; which means, 'Singing, dancing, when will it be?—when the blacks are painted, we will (make) karabari.' On the Hastings, an east-coast river, this is sung:—(v. 1) Millá, millá, millá, millíla; (v. 2) goa galliné, goa galliné, ngaia galliné, híre ilan, u, u, u. This last line they sing with the hands on the hips and a shake and a bow. Many of these songs are known everywhere, and are recognised at once by blackfellows from far distant tribes. When small-pox was raging all over the land, a propitiatory song was composed in New South Wales in honour of, or addressed to, the demon which had sent the calamity. This was speedily known and used all over the colonies. It was sung in a doleful way, and interspersed with the groans and cries of the dying.

These songs are trivial, and are not likely to arouse our enthusiasm, but they suit the tastes of a simple-minded people. The airs to which they are sung are also simple, having very little variation from a monotone. The only accompaniment to the voice is a drum and music-sticks. The drum is a very simple affair. The women wrap up their opossum cloaks into the shape of a hollow cylinder—some with shells inside to make a jingling noise—and on this, as a drum, they tap with their fingers in concert. The sticks are made of hard wood, in shape something like an office ruler, but tapering to a point at the ends. Two of these are used. The one is struck by the other. The sound is musical, and may be heard at a great distance. These sticks, however, are used only in certain districts. Elsewhere 'bumarangs' are used instead.

At the *Native Ball* or 'karabari,' another adjunct is the painted skins of the bands of performers and the ornaments they wear. Instead of the rouge box and the puff powder as a preparation for the ball, every aboriginal family has a supply of pipeclay and ruddle (red oxide of iron). These, if not to be had in the district, are procured at the trading fairs and otherwise by barter. The women delight in adorning their husbands with these for the dance, and the men paint each other with stripes of white on the ribs and chest and down the legs, and red and white on the face and body, until, when they come forth and set themselves in readiness to begin, they look like a band of ghostly skeletons. Their chiefs have red streaks over and under the eyes and on their cheeks. All, both men and women, put on a frontlet or head-band of native material, and in it are stuck, just on the right side of the forehead, plumes of swans' feathers. Necklaces of kangaroos' teeth or bits of reed and armlets are worn; and, hanging down behind from the belt, is something that looks like a cock's tail. In the nose is the usual nose-stick; tied to the ankles are bunches of foliage which, in the dance, make a curious rustling noise, reminding one of the jingle made by the ankle ornaments of some North American Indian tribes in their dances. A big fire is kept burning while the dance is going on, and the fitful glare of the light on the naked and ghastly bodies of the performers, the silence of the forests in the darkness

all around, the bare trunks of the huge gum-trees—all combine to make a weirdly scene to the beholder. The 'karabari' dances are kept up till the dawn of day, and it is amazing to see the vigour and the energy which even the old men display in twisting their bodies and stamping and turning to one side and the other, every movement being made by all in unison, and as mechanically as if all were but the united portions of one machine. In an all-night-long 'karabari' there are acts and interludes. The acts may be of various kinds, representations of the stalking and capture of an emu, the hunting of kangaroos, and other sylvan sports, or a fight with white men, in which, of course, the blacks are victorious, much to the delight of the spectators. The interludes consist of the merry-making of two or three clowns, who are painted and dressed up in a peculiar way for the occasion.

It will be observed that the women do not share in the dance; for, of general dancing in which both the sexes join, or even of dancing such as ours is, the aboriginal Australians know nothing.

The *Manly Amusements* are spear-throwing, wrestling, and football. The first of these is indigenous, but I am not sure that the others are so. As a mark for the spears some object is set up at a distance, and the competitors vie with each other in trying to hit the mark, as in our rifle competitions. So in wrestling; one man steps out and gives a challenge; another offers himself; the rivals rub their hands and their bodies with ashes to assist the holding; he who throws his opponent three times is the victor, and stands aside to be pitted next against some other victor, until one man emerges, amidst the shouts of the by-standers, as undisputed champion. No tripping or unfair dealing is allowed in these contests. In football, sides are taken—one 'totem' class of young men perhaps against another, but there are no goals and no bounds. Each side tries as much as possible to keep the ball to itself and kicks it in any direction. The ball is made of opossum skin, is about the size of an orange, and is stuffed hard with charcoal. Besides these out-door amusements, the men have others to keep them lively on wet days in camp and at night round the camp fire. Then they tell stories, and make riddles, and otherwise entertain each other, as I have already described. The children too have their games—'hide and seek,' string puzzles like 'cat's cradle' for boys and girls. But the boys have games of their own; while still very young, they handle a small toy spear, and throw it either at a stationary mark or at a round piece of bark which is made to roll along some yards in front of them. Then, they have also toy 'bumarangs,' and a stick which makes 'ducks and drakes' on dry land. This stick is about two feet long, with a spike knob at one end, and tapered off very thin towards the other end as a handle. This stick is swung backwards and forwards by the handle, and then pitched off, much in the same way as in our 'throwing the hammer.' It has been known to go 220 yards.

In their sports and amusements, the Melanesians of Fiji resemble the Australians. They have dances with rhythmical and regular movements like those of troops on review; the performers are gaily dressed after their fashion; they carry clubs and spears in the dance; they march and halt and march again; a buffoon sometimes comes in and raises a laugh by his grotesque drolleries. Besides these they have 'blindman's buff,' 'hide and seek,' 'ducks and drakes,' 'hop, step, and jump,' stone-skittles, and the like. All these sports seem to be indigenous there. Like our black-fellows, they are also fond of hearing and telling native traditions and extravagant fictions.

The African negroes, too, have great delight in lying near the fire at night and telling stories.

Trade. I have already spoken of pipe-clay and ruddle as articles of trade; the Mindi-mindi gatherings are the markets at which this trade is carried on. The necessity for these fairs is not far to seek. A black man's own 'taurai' does not furnish everything he requires for his daily life. In it there may be food enough, but he wants suitable stone for an axe, wood for his spears and 'bumarangs' and shields and clubs, flint for cutting and skinning, gum to be used as cement, and lumps of gritty sand-stone, on which to sharpen his stone-axe; for adornment, the pipe-clay and the red-ochre are much valued, and so are swan-down feathers and the rose-coloured crests of a certain kind of cockatoo; some of these he can supply, and for them he gets in barter others that he wants. Then also there are manufactured articles which he can give in exchange,—cloaks, rugs, baskets, knitted bags, nets, weapons, and tools; most of these articles bear the 'brand' of the maker. In this way the black man's wants are supplied by the mutual interchange of commodities. I suppose that, at these fairs, the usual amount of haggling goes on in the making of bargains, but there is no quarrelling; for, during the time, universal brotherhood prevails. The fairs are held whenever there is a need for them.

In the Andaman Islands, large gatherings of a similar kind are held by neighbouring tribes from time to time for barter and trading.

Signals. All official communication between the tribes is carried on by the public messengers or heralds, as already described. But there is also the use of message-sticks as a means of communication between individuals at a distance. A piece of thick bark is cut into an oblong shape, perhaps measuring 9 inches by 3 or 4; the sender makes a number of notches on the edges of it and dimples or holes on the surface of it, and sends the stick to his correspondent, who is said to understand what is wanted. The sticks are often round like a ruler or rolling-pin. But there must be a good deal of guessing in the matter; for the marks are certainly not pictorial writing, and even the blacks themselves are not quite sure of the meaning, unless there is a messenger along with the stick.

More intelligible, however, are the smoke signals, by which news is conveyed to a distant portion of the tribe in a few minutes. A fire is kindled; bunches of leaves and branches are thrown on; these soon make a fierce blaze; then heaps of grass and reeds are put on the flame; these so effectually smother it that the smoke escapes only through an opening on the top of the pile. This also is covered up for a few minutes, and a draught-hole is made down below, near the ground; the vent is now opened, and a dense black volume of smoke rushes out. The black man now proceeds to raise what he calls "one big fellow smoke." This process, although it appears easy, requires considerable dexterity; it is effected by waving a long leafy branch in a circle just above the vent; the motion being horizontal, a slight twist of the hand gives to the ascending mass a spiral form, which it maintains to a great height. Thus the natives inform their friends at a distance that the message which has been sent in the morning, in this instance by three smoke fires, may have been received. Between those who thus telegraph to each other, there is a previous understanding as to the meaning of each signal; two smokes together may be taken to mean peace, and three for war. A tribule twenty miles to the north may wish to know if the white

men between them and their next neighbours to the south are friendly and so make this inquiry by means of one smoke ; to give a reply, a hollow dead tree is selected, with three pipe-holes near its top ; a fire is kindled within the trunk, and the smoke escapes by these pipes ; if only two columns of smoke are wanted, one of these holes may be plugged up.

Other simple modes of conveying tidings are used, which the ready intelligence of the black man enables him to understand at once. A friend of mine says :—" Many years ago, when I was out shooting, I went past a camp where I knew the blacks were the evening before, but they were all gone. I saw one of the black men approaching and I asked him where his comrades were. He said he did not know as he had been away up the river for several days. However, on going into the deserted camp, he called me and showed me there a stick stuck in the ground with a cob of corn tied at the top of it and pointing to the north-east. This meant, he said, that they had gone to a settler's place in that direction to pull corn."

Gesture language is another means of communication between our tribes. It is not used by contiguous tribes ; for there are always individuals in such tribes who can speak or understand the mutual dialects. But if a man of the Sydney tribe wandered far into the interior of the continent, say to Cooper's Creek, his language would have been of no avail to him there ; so also, if a black from Port Darwin, in the far north, came to the same locality. Hence the natives in the interior have a very full and elaborate system of gesture language, while our tribes on the eastern coast have nothing of the kind. By certain movements of the hand, turning it in various ways and placing in various positions in relation to the body, the tribes near Cooper's Creek can speak with any strangers who come among them.

Cromlechs. It seems to me odd that I should have to write the Celtic word 'cromlech' to describe anything that our blackfellows have reared ; and yet there is sufficient evidence to show that the piles and circles of stones found in different places in Australia are not all of them natural ; some of them seem to be monumental or religious, others for shelter. I know of three huge pillar stones or rocks which stand in an elevated position on a mountain range ; the blacks say that, when they see these stones in a time of drought and wish firmly for one, two, or three days rain, the rain will certainly come. An Irishman, whom I was talking with one day, told me that in a very dry year he was obliged to leave his farm and go off to the diggings ; he and two others were climbing a very steep part of that range under the guidance of a blackfellow and came in sight of the three megaliths ; the black told the story about them, and the Irishman did wish hard for rain ; in an hour or two the aspect of the sky so changed that he turned back, leaving his companions ; and, sure enough, the rain came, and it rained the number of days he had wished for !

On the plains of Victoria there were stone circles from 10 to 100 feet in diameter, and within some of these there was an inner circle. Similar stone circles have been seen at Cooper's Creek. In another place in the interior, Giles, the explorer, found mounds of stones at even distances apart with a large rock in the centre of each ; the ground around was stony, but paths had been cleared between these heaps. Sir George Grey also found such heaps in north-western Australia ; one of them was 22 feet long, 14 feet broad, and 4 feet high. They were placed due east and west and had been built by the hand of man. He thinks that they were tombs.

Industrial.

A supply of water is one of the necessities of life, and in such a country as Australia, where severe droughts may occur, water is often a precious commodity. The natives are very acute in finding supplies of water. There is a certain fibrous root which they tear up even in the desert, and from it get a pint or two of water. In a dry water-course they dig a hole in a likely place and find water. But Eyre, the explorer, on the route from Adelaide to King George's Sound, found wells "sunk through loose sand 14 or 15 feet deep, and 2 feet in diameter, quite circular, carried down straight, and the work beautifully executed." Sir George Grey saw similar wells in north-western Australia. In his travels, Forrest saw in rocks sundry cavities, small and large, for the reception of rain water. These may have been natural, but enlarged by the natives.

Order of Camp.

There is only one thing more which I have to mention under this section; it is the order of a native camp where various tribes are assembled. This is arranged on so simple a principle that there is no difficulty in finding any family, even when there are hundreds of blacks assembled together. I shall take a portion of the state of Illinois as an illustration. Let us suppose that the place of meeting is where Springfield now stands; the Springfield blacks erect their huts there, and other blacks come in from north, east, south, and west. At whatever time they may arrive, the blacks from Williamsville will encamp immediately to the north of their Springfield friends, and those from Lincoln behind the others; on the east, those from Decatur will be nearest, and from Tolono behind them; and so on for Auburn and Carlinville on the south, and for Jacksonville and Illinoistown on the west; and in that order they remain while the encampment lasts.

VII.—WEAPONS, TOOLS, UTENSILS.

*Weapons.*1. *The Bumarang.*

The fighting weapons of the Australians are few in number and simple in construction; they are spears, clubs, shields, and the 'bumarang.' Of the last there are two kinds, but it is only the one of these that is used in fights; of the other weapons there are various kinds and sizes. In speaking of all weapons and tools I shall refer to them by the native names which they bear in New South Wales, and mostly in the Sydney dialect. It is necessary that those persons who write on Australian subjects should come to some mutual arrangement in this matter, for already much perplexity has arisen in the minds of foreigners from our want of agreement on this point. The same ceremonies and the same weapons are described by authors in the different colonies, and so many different names for them are used that the reader is left in doubt. The Sydney names 'bora,' 'bumarang,' 'karabari,' are already established, and I see no valid reason why other Sydney words and names should not be accepted as they are found in most of the older books, and thus have the precedence. I have said that there are two 'bumarangs;' the other of these is commonly called the 'come-back boomerang,' from the strange peculiarity of its flight; but while that name may be descriptive enough, yet it is not convenient to handle, and in one view the name is in itself contradictory, and therefore absurd, for it really means the 'play-fighting' weapon. The name 'bumarang' has always hitherto been written *boomerang*; but, considered etymologically, that is wrong, for the root of it is buma 'strike, fight, kill,' and -ara, -arai, -ari, -arang are, all of them, common formative terminations in this dialect. Therefore, I have

always written the name as 'bumarang,' and the 'bumarang' is the fighting variety, and to this use I will restrict that word. The 'come-back' variety is not a fighting weapon. A dialect name for it is 'bargan,' which word may be explained in our language to mean 'bent like a sickle or crescent moon.' I will, therefore, say 'bargan' when I mean that variety. It is important that two different words should be used; for much confusion has been produced in the past by both varieties being called 'bumarang.' And on this distinction depends the relevancy of the arguments for the identification of our 'bumarang' with similar instruments in other lands; for something like it is found on the Dravidian coast of India, in the tombs and on the monuments of Egypt, and in some parts of the United States. In Arizona and New Mexico, for instance, such a weapon is used for hitting rabbits and small game; its form varies from that of a cavalry sabre to an obtuse angle of 130 degrees; it is thrown forward horizontally; the material is oak or ash, and the dimensions are about 20 inches long, 2 inches broad, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick; it is thin at the edge. On some of the Egyptian frescoes there is seen a man in a boat, with a bent stick in his hand, and in the act of throwing it at some birds above him. Such sticks are not 'bumarangs,' for they commonly have a double curve, somewhat resembling an elongated capital S. But from a tomb at Thebes three instruments were got which are all true flat 'bumarangs,' not curved sticks. One of these is in the British Museum. General Pitt Rivers has stated that, some years ago, he had a *fac simile* made of this one, and found that, by throwing it against the wind, it came back to his feet several times running. He thinks that the returning weapon—that is, the 'bargan'—is only the other one modified in form, and adds that "the racial connection between the Australians and the Egyptians, startling as it at first appears, becomes the less improbable the more we look at in the light of comparative culture." The link between Egypt and Australia is the Dravidian races of the Dekkan of India. Some years ago, three 'bumarangs' from Kattyawar, Bombay, were presented to the Museum of the Anthropological Society, London.

As the Australian weapon is so thin, it gets its tenacity and strength from the toughness of the wood of which it is made. Here the wood chosen is that of the fig-tree or willow; elsewhere 'ironbark' and 'she-oak' are used, or even the bark of a 'gum-tree.' No two 'bargans' are exactly alike in cut and shape. The maker has to chip and smooth the piece of wood as he goes on with his work. He tries it now and again, and makes alterations until its action is perfect. Unlike the 'bumarang,' there is not much utility in it, although with it a black man does kill birds and small animals, and sometimes throws it in battle. In shape it is a good deal like a reaping sickle without a handle, with a slight twist in contrary directions at each end. To throw it, our native takes hold of it by the one end, and keeps it horizontally in his hand. He notes the direction from which the wind is blowing, and turns to face it. He now poises the weapon, looks at it carefully, and gives the end a twist if he thinks it is at all out of shape. He pauses for a few seconds and considers the force with which he ought to throw it as against the wind. Suddenly it leaves his hand and moves onward 50 or 100 yards in a straight line; then suddenly it rises in the air with a curious gyrating motion to a great height, and returns, with a most fantastic irregularity in its flight, and at last lodges itself on or in the ground at the thrower's feet. A European, standing beside him, would run off to escape the danger as it approaches, but that is the very way to put one's self in reach of a serious wound; for the instrument is sure to land near the very spot where the thrower wishes it to stop, even although that spot is behind him. On one

occasion a colonist described on the ground a circle about 5 feet in diameter, and offered to give a blackfellow sixpence for every time he could land his 'bargan' within that circle. He succeeded seven times out of twelve throws.

The average weight of a 'bargan' is from 6 to 10 ounces, and average dimensions are 20 inches from point to point, 2 inches broad, and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick. It is flat on one side and slightly rounded on the other; the back is round but the inner curve is worked to an edge. In all these respects, however, there is considerable diversity; the 'bargans' in Western Australia, for instance, weigh only 4 ounces.

The 'bumarang' proper is a larger and heavier weapon than the 'bargan.' In shape it has a more open curve than the other, increasing its length to 30 inches, while the breadth and thickness are nearly the same as before, but the weight is 10 ounces. It somewhat resembles a scimitar, and its inner edge is sharp and dangerous in battle. Thrown from a distance of 150 yards, it will break a limb, or pierce through the body of a man with its point.

An instrument resembling the 'bumarang,' but intended rather to be a sword than a missile, was once in use among the natives on the River Murray. It had the same curve as the 'bumarang,' but it was 3 feet long; at one end it was shaped like the butt of a gun-stock, and the width varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in one part to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in another; both edges were sharp.

It is rather remarkable that the 'bargan' was not known to the Tasmanians, nor, apparently, the 'bumarang,' for it is said that their only weapons were spears and clubs; no shields even; nor did they put jagged pieces of quartz or bone on the end of their spears. Does this mean that the blacks of Tasmania retained an earlier and more primitive style of weapon than the Australians, and that, in consequence of their isolation in that island, a subsequent wave of immigration or of social advancement in Australia did not reach them? On so obscure a subject it is hazardous to offer even a conjecture; but my own opinion has been that the now extinct Tasmanians represented the very earliest population of Australians, and that these first immigrants, like the Celts in Europe, were driven back and back by fresh waves of population from Asia, till, at last, they found their final and only safe resting-place in Tasman's Island. The facts seem to lend themselves to this explanation, which is also supported by this circumstance, that some of the tribes on the mainland do not use the 'bumarang,' nor is it known in New Guinea.

2. *Spears.* Clubs and spears can claim great antiquity as lethal weapons. It may have been a piece of wood used as a club that first brought death into the world, and both clubs and spears figure in the earliest representations we have of men engaged in war or the chase. Language, which is often a faithful custodian of the primitive ideas about things and their uses, tells us what a spear was in its origin; it was either a thing to be 'thrown,' 'a lance' (Fr. *lancer*), or it was 'a twig,' 'a branch,' hence a rod, a sceptre, a spear. Nothing can be simpler than this. When primitive man first came to feel the necessity of defending himself against wild beasts, the weapon readiest to his hand must have been the small branch of a tree, sharp enough at one end to pierce the body of the foe, and blunt and heavy enough at the other to knock him down; or, if the enemy had not yet come to close quarters, a stout twig which could be hurled against him so as to pierce or disable him. Then, when the effectiveness of these rough and ready instruments had been proved, they were kept in store for use. Hence the birth of clubs and spears. Then comes the fabrication of these weapons by the help of fire and flint, ere yet the working of metals had appeared. As contrasted with the animal creation, man is

a tool and instrument maker, and the inventiveness of primitive men was certainly stimulated by the instinct of self-preservation. So, I imagine, I see a band of them sitting day by day in some quiet valley of the ranges of the Niphates mountains, burning, cutting, scraping, and shaping the wood of the hardest trees into weapons of defence; or selecting the straightest and strongest reed from the water-courses, and fixing in the ends of them a short piercer of hardwood. The same weapons, or many of them, also ministered to the daily life of man; for with them he could kill for food both fish and fowl and beast.

Now, it is in this early stage of existence we find our Australian black-fellows still. They are content with these simple weapons, and have never attained to the use of metals. Their spears are either of reed or of wood, and the wood-spear may be plain in its whole length, or with jagged barbs worked in the natural wood at the point, or with stone jags fixed in the wood there, or with one, two, or three barbs or prongs cemented and lashed on; or it may be furnished with a sharp point and head of stone. Of all these, the reed spear is the easiest to make. A suitable reed is found at the lagoon or river, or the lower part of the flowering stalk of the grass-tree is taken. Neither of these requires any dressing. The thicker end is merely rounded for the hand, and on to the other end is placed a long lancet of some hardwood, which has been carefully scraped into shape and smoothed. The joining is secured with the usual gum cement, and wrapped round with native cord. The whole is about 6 feet long. This is a fish-spear, but, like other fish-spears, it is a dangerous stabbing weapon. Another fish-spear, 9 or 10 feet long, is wholly of wood, and is made to taper to a fine point like the other. Another is a long taper point as before, but fitted into a stout handle piece. Still another kind of fish-spear has the shaft wholly of wood, but at the point is fixed a head and barb of sharp bone. Other fish-spears are from 10 to 15 feet long, and are furnished with long prongs, lashed on in the usual way.

There is a similar variety in the wooden war-spears, but most of them are barbed on one side or on both. They are from 8 feet to 11 feet long. A tough piece of wood is taken for the purpose, but many days must our black man labour till his spear is fit for use. Fortunately, he does not consider time a valuable commodity, and so he works on, taking pleasure in his work; for is not the spear his own, and for his own use? and will not his comrades envy or praise him, if his made spear is fine in quality or workmanship and effective in use? But the tedious labour begins when he proceeds to shape the jags on the end of it. There may be as many as a dozen of these all on one side, or half a dozen on each side of a double-barbed spear; each of these jags must be so made that they will not easily break off when the spear is in use. To avoid this labour, and also to use up a straight piece of material, the spear-maker cuts a groove in one or both sides of the point of his plain wood, and in these grooves he fixes sharp chips of hard stone, which are as efficacious as barbs. From the northern territory of Australia come some beautiful spears, with heads and points of basalt and quartzite, eight or nine inches long. These heads have been formed by careful chipping, and anyone who sees such a spear can estimate the care and patience which the workman must use who wishes to make a successful spear-head.

Besides the 'come-back bumarang,' another curiosity of Australian invention is the throw-stick, with which many of the war-spears are impelled from the hand of the owner. This is already known by the name of 'womära,' and I think that the use of any other name for it only causes confusion. It is

a very ingenious instrument, and universally the same throughout the Australian continent. If the blacks invented it after their coming hither, that alone would prove that the ancestors of the race were not the despicable baboons that some ethnologists would have them to be. In this connection, we should remember that the beginnings of civilisation rose from the race of Ham; to them we owe the first rudiments of the science of astronomy, the art of building, the skill to work in metals, and the invention of pictorial writing, and probably of the alphabet; and, if the present representatives of the Hamites do not now uphold the early promise of the founders of their race, it is not wise to denounce them as the lowest of barbarians, as is too often done; for there may have been conditions in their ancient history which have dragged them down from their first estate, and have kept them down, their environment being unfavourable to recovery. One of these depressing influences we shall have a glimpse of in the next section.

The 'womara' is an instrument of wood, from 24 to 30 inches long, and a little thicker than a spear. Unlike the spear, it is not thrown at the enemy in battle, but remains always in the black man's hand or in his possession, reserved for use when it is required; and so he ornaments it profusely, back and front, in the highest style of native art. In its general outlines, the 'womara' is not unlike an ice-skate, or a Chinese pointed shoe, with a round sole on it; only the 'womara' is very elongated, much narrower, has no heel, and is not shaped like the foot. The point of it is turned up, exactly like the point of a lady's crochet needle; in fact, if you were to take a crochet needle and magnify it sufficiently, flattening down the upper surface where the hook is, you would have a very good example of a 'womara.' Not all spears are used with the 'womara,' but spears that are to be so used have a dimpled hole worked in their butt end, which hole receives the point of the hook-end of the 'throw-stick.' The thrower holds the 'womara' horizontally in his hand, about the level of the ear, and thus at a convenient height for throwing; the stout end of it passes between his first and second fingers, and is kept steady by the two other fingers being closed down upon it; the spear, fitted into the point of the hook at its end, rests on the knuckles of these two fingers, and passes back between the thumb and the outer side of the forefinger; the pressure of the thumb keeping it steady. When he is ready to throw, the native gives the spear an onward impulse; a sudden jerk discharges the spear with great force, and leaves the 'womara' still in his hand to be used again if necessary. It is said that experiments made at the bidding of the great Napoleon, proved that the 'womara' gave an additional projectile force of about 50 yards. It is certain that our blacks find it is useful, and like it, for it is in very general use. There was no 'womara' in Tasmania.

3. *Clubs.* Clubs are certainly as old as spears, perhaps a little older. The club in such a hand as that of Hercules is a terrible weapon of attack, and the symbolical baton and mace of modern days are an evidence that personal prowess with the club was a sure passport to authority and power. The first clubs must have been only big roots or broken limbs of trees. One of the simplest of Australian clubs, the 'nulla-nulla,' resembles the root of a grass-tree in the shape of its head, and may have been in its origin only this root scraped and dressed down to handy dimensions. Then, when the effectiveness of the instrument had been proved by using it, others would be made of harder and heavier timber, but still in the same shape; such is the force of habit. The 'nulla-nulla' is in shape something like a child's wicker-rattle, and has a sharp rim running round the middle of the knob on the end. In consequence of its size and weight,

the knob of the 'nulla' might be broken off by a heavy blow; hence arises the 'bundai'—also a war club—which has knob end nicely tapered off to a stout round. The timber used in New South Wales for both the 'nulla' and the 'bundai' is either 'myall' or 'myrtle' wood—hard and compact in the grain. Unlike either of these is the 'kotāra.' It is more used for thrusting and stabbing, and the blade has a double edge something like a double lancet or an artist's steel scraper. The blade is about one-third of the whole length of the instrument; it is thick at the mid-rib, and from it tapers on both sides to the edges and the point. Another club is the 'kotumba.' For its shape it owes less to the hand of man than the others; for it is only a stout shaft with a natural club-foot on the end of it, but set on the shaft at an obtuse angle. It is somewhat like a 'hockey'-stick, or a 'putter' in golf, only that the handle is stouter and the arm is longer.

The 'nulla' and the 'bundai' may be made with bosses on them, either cut from the natural wood or fixed on the head. A general name for all Australian clubs is 'waddy,' and, although they are really clubs, they are often used as missiles in battle. Spears are never poisoned. Besides all these, there is the yam-stick, the weapon of the women, and so called because it is used by them in digging up the edible roots which go by the general name of 'yams.' It is quite straight in its whole length, of tough wood, and sharp at the point and edged near the end. The women wield it freely as a baton in their own scrimmages, and a girl, when she is coming to be of age, is presented with one by her mother to keep off importunate lovers. A variety of it, perhaps about 3 feet long, is used by the men also in hand-to-hand fights, and with its keen point they can give each other desperate stabs.

In Queensland, and other parts of Australia, the natives have a wooden sword about 3 feet long, with short and stout handle. The blade is either straight or slightly curved. The weight is from 3 to 10 lb. It is a dangerous weapon.

Another offensive weapon is the arrow. Now the Australians have no bows-and-arrows, and this fact has sometimes been urged against them as a proof of their want of invention, and so of their degraded condition. But the same thing can be said of some of the eastern Polynesians, for in some of their islands bows-and-arrows are used only as children's toys, and in some of the Melanesian islands—New Ireland, for instance—there are no bows-and-arrows. It cannot be the absence of suitable wood that has prevented the Australians from having the bow; for our native 'myrtle' is a tough and straight-grained wood, and quite suitable, while many native reeds would make admirable arrows. If they ever had the bow-and-arrow they have laid them aside, because of their unhandiness. A native, when he is wandering about, does not like to have his hands encumbered by any weapons which he cannot use on a sudden; for an enemy may rush upon him unawares, or an animal of the chase may be startled from its lair; then the two or three spears which he carries with him are far more readily used than a bow could be; and the dexterity which he has in using the spear makes the bow to him a very inferior instrument indeed. Let any one just see an Australian use the spear and the 'womara' in shooting at a mark, and he will at once understand how the bow has lost place, if it ever existed here.

There is only one other thing to be said about the spear. The toes of the natives are prehensile; I have seen a man lift a straw from the ground with his toes and raise it to his hand. And so also he can catch the end of a light spear with his toes and drag it along with him through the

grass, as he walks. This fact is urged against him as a proof that he is treacherous. Those who make that charge are not aware of the acuteness of vision which a black man possesses. If a native and a colonist are riding together over a level plain and some one is approaching in the opposite direction, the native will see the stranger probably 15 minutes before he becomes visible to the white man. What hope then is there that a native can take another native at a disadvantage by dragging a spear with his toes? His very manner of walking would at once expose the subterfuge. Instead of this faculty being the outcome of treachery, I believe that it has been acquired in the chase. When stalking a kangaroo or an emu, the man's hands are filled with his shield which he uses as a screen and the leafy boughs which he carries as a counterfeit bush, and if he is able to have also one spear in his hand, it is certainly desirable that he should have another in reserve, if the first one should fail; or at least, a small spear in addition, to give the *coup de grâce*, when the game is disabled by a first wound.

Shields. For every cut there is a parry in fencing; and so, wherever there are spears to be thrown, shields will be made and used in defence. Australian shields arrange themselves in two main divisions—(1) those that are used in peace when a man has to stand out at the bidding of the elders and take his punishment for some tribal offence; or when he has to fight out a quarrel in single contest. As his adversary lays on with a 'nulla' or a 'bundai,' the defendant needs a strong, heavy shield to bear the weighty blows. The other kind is much lighter, and is better fitted for defence in battle. The heavy shields are all cut with the greatest care out of the solid, very hard and close-grained wood being selected, chiefly 'ironbark'; but 'box' and 'gum' are also used. The length of the shields is from 30 to 40 inches; breadth, from 3 to 5 inches; and average thickness, about 5 inches. They are all tortoise-backed in shape, and like the half of a long pointed spindle cut longitudinally; some of them have a slight ridge all along the middle of the back. The inner side bulges enough in the centre to admit of an oblong hole being made through it to receive the hand. The weight of a shield is about 3 lb.

The round back of the shield is always ornamented all over with carving, mostly of straight and zigzag lines. But the variety of the devices shows the resources of the blackman's art, and the execution is so elaborate that many weeks must be spent on the carvings of a single shield.

The lighter shields would not stand a blow from a 'nulla-nulla,' but are quite strong enough to intercept spears in battle; and in order to protect the bearer's body in battle they are much wider than the others, sometimes reaching 10 inches in width, while the thickness is usually about half an inch. Indeed, these are so puffed out on the sides as to be like a sole or other flat fish. The common material is the bark of a tree. This must be cut off carefully, and, if possible, with a portion of the wood of the tree attached. It is laid on a rounded mound of hot ashes, and covered with stones and earth and turf. It is thus moulded into shape by heat. A shield of this kind weighs about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 lb.

The native shields of Western Australia differ somewhat from those just described. They are obtuse at both ends, and in their outer surface they resemble a flat spectacle case. There is only one kind, and the ornamentation of them is uniform, consisting of a set pattern of grooves, filled in with red. On the inner side the part for the hand is cut out of the solid.

*Implements.**Stone Axe.*

The earliest of implements is the stone axe, and the use of it must be as old as the human race. It was used everywhere in this land, when the white man first came here, but it is seldom seen now in the settled districts. Ancestral implements even, like the indigene himself, must disappear when civilisation comes in. The savage ceases to care for the rude implements of his race when he sees the work which steel can do. But the stone axe has done a good work for him in the days that are past, when time and labour were commodities of little value. With the aid of fire and that chipping instrument in his hand, the savage was able to fell a tree, dress its trunk, and hollow it into a canoe, and then boldly face the ocean, or paddle about on an inland lake; and that was no mean achievement. But the Australians, even those living on the coast, have not been much given to the framing of canoes. Their canoes have been literally barks, formed from the bark of trees, and fitted only for crossing rivers and lakes. Yet the stone axe has been to him a much valued weapon.

As may be expected, the material used in making a stone axe was always of the hardest description—basalt, diorite, granite, greenstone—and wherever suitable rock did not exist in the 'taurai' of any tribe, the rough material was got from other tribes by barter; or by purchase or favour, a deputation of workers from the one tribe was allowed the privilege of taking what they wanted from the quarries in the territory of another tribe. The material being thus obtained, then commenced the labour of shaping the piece selected for use as a hatchet. This was accomplished by striking it repeated blows with another hard stone. In this operation, the Australians must have been very dexterous; for the spear heads known to have been made by certain tribes are marvels of manual skill. Many tribes used the axes in their rough state, that is, unpolished, because they had no access to sandstone rocks on which to grind and sharpen them. Other tribes, again, had them polished and so sharp as to cut through a branch with two or three blows. The possession of a sandstone rub ground was thus much valued. There is one notable place of that kind in the Kamalarai territory which must have been used by the tribes around for many generations. It is an extensive deposit of sandstone of a gritty nature, fit for the making of grindstones. The rock rises out of a deep reach of the river, and slopes backwards for about 30 feet, and then terminates in a flat top, much of which is now covered with grass. Yet over at least 2 acres of this top there may be seen innumerable hollows, made in the stone by the blacks when sharpening their axes; for as soon as one groove became too deep the worker would begin another beside it. Not only on the top, but also on the sloping side of the rock, these marks are seen down to the water's edge, and below it, as far as the eye can reach. In 1841 there was a great drought in these parts, so severe that the large timber on the black ridges round about and elsewhere all died over an extent of 10 or 12 miles. At that time the water in the river at the rubbing-place was very low, and yet the rub-marks could still be seen far below the surface of the water. How many generations of Kamalarai blacks had encamped there we cannot tell, but the rocks still testify why they came there, and how laboriously they toiled.

Among our Australian tribes, then, the stone axe is found both in the rough and the polished stage, and is used both without a handle fixed to it and with one. When there is no handle, the black man grasps the instrument in the hollow of his hand, and continues chipping until his work is done. When a handle is required, a suitable piece of wood is taken, and

split so as to receive the head of the axe, which may be notched at that part to make it hold better; the head is fixed there with native gum, and the wood is then securely bound together behind the head with cord or strong woody fibre; or a flexible bough of a young tree is taken; the part that is to receive the head is placed for a time in hot ashes; it is then taken out and bent round the head, and secured as before with gum and cord. The axes are usually 5 or 6 inches in length, 3 or 4 inches broad, and weigh from 1 to 6 lb.; the heavier ones were used for rough work. The cutting edge has always the broad curve, which is so effective in the American woodman's axe. Smaller axes have the shape of the drop of a lady's ear-ring.

Chisel.

Adze.

Useful modifications of the axe are the chisel and the adze. Both of them are merely the stone-axe knives, with a haft fixed on in such a way as to enable the worker either to push or to strike with the cutting edge, according to the nature of the work on which he is engaged. But some tribes have a chisel made of the large bone of a kangaroo's leg, sharpened to a cutting edge. With this they cut out the hole that is used on the handle of a shield. It is also useful in forming wooden vessels, and in various kinds of native work.

Knives are made of flint, or chert, or quartzite. The stone is chipped to a cutting edge, and is used either with or without a handle.

It is rather singular that the Tasmanians do not seem to have had stone tomahawks. They used rough pieces of stone for skinning, and chipping, and scraping purposes, but without a handle. The Australians also use chips in the same way, and for cutting the scars on the body; and for the operation of circumcision, the tribes in Northern Queensland always use a flint knife. I have already mentioned that the jags on spear-heads were often inserted pieces of sharp stone.

Another implement that should be noticed is the stone hammer. It is a large stone, or, perhaps, two stones, one end being blunt for hammer work, and the other sharpened as an axe. The handle appears to be inserted in the middle, and then lashed to the stone with numerous folds of cord, gum being used as a binder. Very few examples of this instrument have been found, and I rather think that the natives did not find it of much service to them in their daily work, which seldom requires the aid of a hammer. Unlike the Maories, the Australians have no stone clubs.

Among implements may be reckoned bone awls, bodkins, pins, and needles. The awl or bodkin is made from the small bones of the hind legs of the kangaroo, and is used for boring holes; when furnished with an eye, it is a woman's needle; a similar bone from an opossum is used as a picker. In both cases a sharp point is got by rubbing. Pins for fastening the wearer's cloak round the shoulders are of bone; pins for ordinary purposes, such as pegging down of skins to dry, may be of hardwood.

The 'quern' stone is a very old institution in other countries; but for the purpose of grinding and pounding, the Australian women have only a flat slab of sandstone and a small hand stone, round or oval in shape, with which the seeds are pulverised by rubbing or pounding. Thus from many kinds of seeds, such as the 'nardu,' which they collect, the natives make a rough kind of meal which is baked into 'damper.'

Utensils.

These are not many in numbers, for their wandering mode of life does not permit our natives to have much furniture or many cooking utensils. In fact, the only house furniture that they have is a tub for holding water and a spoon. There is a mussel shell with which to

sup up liquids, such as gravy in the body of a roasted opossum; and the tub is the cup-like bark removed from the gnarled knob growing on some bush-tree, or the knob removed bodily and then hollowed out with fire, the axe, and the chisel. These tubs were too large to be carried about, and were, therefore, made mostly when the tribule intended to remain for some time at a camping ground. A smaller variety of bucket, however, was carried by the women, and with water in it, when there was no prospect of getting water on the journey. Necessarily these buckets are lighter than the tubs, and are made only of bark from a small gnarl on a gum-tree. They are furnished with handles of string. Some tribes use skins of the smaller animals as vessels for the carrying of water.

The native women are very good at making bags, baskets, and nets. The bags, and baskets are indispensable to them when the family is travelling. A large semi-circular basket is made of river reeds, which are twisted into ropes and then plaited into shape. Bags of various shapes are made of grass and stringy fibre from trees, and the thread or cord which the women spin from the hair of the opossum or the native cat. Of these bags the loops are strong and neatly made. I have in my possession a bag of this kind, given to me by a friend who supplied a native woman on the cattle station with some old stockings, and got back from her a serviceable bag neatly made from the worsted. Some bags are made of grasses of various colours; when these grasses can be got, they are so used as to form a pattern in the work. Other baskets are made of flags from the river brink, woven strongly together, and are so large that they can be slung over the back, and can carry a child.

Nets. In fishing, the blacks use the spear or the net or the hook—
Hooks. the spear for large fish and the net where smaller fish are numerous. The fishing-net is made of kangaroo grass; the

mesh is about 2 inches in size, and the knot is the same as in European nets, and was not copied from the white man. It is not strong enough to be used as a stake net; so two men go out on the lagoon, each in a canoe, and drag the net through the water, while some others splash the water and drive the fish towards the net. Smaller hand-nets, made of fibre, have a mesh about an inch in size. The fish hooks used by the natives were of bone and in shape like a boar's tusk. With European hooks, the blacks, both men and women, are expert anglers, and can speedily secure a basketful of fish.

VIII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

Causes of When a native is killed in battle, or is so severely wounded
Death. that he dies, or is crushed to death by a falling branch of a tree, or dies from some other visible cause, his comrades do not

wonder, because the manner of his death is manifest; but it is quite otherwise when a man sickens and dies from no obvious influences; then the cause of his death is ascribed to some hidden malevolence on the part either of evil spirits, or of some wicked 'karáji' or wizard, who, at his own will, or hired thereto by others, has, by magic arts, put something into the sick man's body sufficient to make him pine away and die. In the firm and universal belief of our natives, a man among them dies, not because the vital machinery has got clogged or is worn out, but because he has been bewitched by an enemy. Those who have read Lenormant on Magic in Chaldæa know that this is a very old belief, and that it produced there an elaborate ritual as against evil spirits, and for protection from them. In our country the terror of it so overpowers the mind, that when a man comes to know that a 'karáji' is

operating against him, he falls into low spirits from which he cannot be roused, and ere long he dies, just from the fear of the evil that he imagines is coming upon him. I am disposed to think that this dread belief has had an evil effect on the national life of the Australians; for it has driven out of their minds the remembrance that there is much good in life, and that even in their own pantheon there are divinities which are beneficent,—a remembrance which would have given them moral sunshine every day—and this belief in the predominance of evil has crushed their spirits down, and prevented them from aspiring to a higher state of social existence. Indeed, I think that the prevalence of such a belief, in any nation, must always have the effect of paralysing the public mind, and dragging the people down from any degree of civilisation which they may have possessed.

So, when an Australian is sick, if the sickness is seen to come from some intelligible cause, such as a cold or a surfeit in eating, the usual native remedies are applied, and the matter ends there; but if the illness comes from fierce pains in the body, or general debility, or from a swelling of any kind, then some wicked wizard at a distance has been turning the point of a magic bone at him, with incantations, to do him harm, or has been burning a portion of his hair against him, or some other refuse, that he has incautiously left exposed; or an evil spirit, roving about the camp at night, has put a round stone in his body, where the lump is, with the intention that he may fall ill and die; then, in any of these circumstances the 'karáji' is sent for, to come and remove the evil, or to counteract the witchery which is doing so much harm. The 'karáji' sucks out the causes of the pain, or he puffs and blows with his mouth till the evil spirit is driven away, and the sick man recovers. But if the man dies, then that shows that the evil influences have been very strong, or that the witchery of the other 'karáji' has been too potent for the means intended to promote recovery.

At Death. As soon as the sick man dies, the wail for the dead is raised, and the relatives proceed to prepare the body for burial, while it is still warm. There are many modes of burial, but if the body is to be buried in a sitting posture—which is a common mode—the dead man's legs are folded up, and his head bent down, so that knees and chin nearly touch; the body is then tied all round with native cord, and wrapped in a rug which is also tied, so that the whole looks like a round bundle; thus it is made ready for the grave. But wherever it is not the fashion to truss up the body in this way it is simply enclosed in sheets of bark at full length, and thus prepared; and the preparation does not take much time, for the burial takes place not many hours after death. The Kurringgai tribe on our east coast have a curious way of caring for the dead between death and burial, which was thus described to me by a friend:—"On the 17th of April, 1842, in the afternoon, hearing shrieks, screams, and lamentations from a camp about a quarter of a mile from my residence, I proceeded to the spot, and found a lot of blacks—male and female—wailing and lamenting. I asked one of the females what was the matter. She replied that a blackfellow was 'boi' (dead). I asked his name, but only got a shake of the head in reply. She pointed to the spot where the body lay, and I went over to have a look. Lying on his back, with his head and shoulders a little raised, was the eldest son—quite an adult—of the deceased; and supported on his abdomen and chest was the body of his father wrapped up in a rug and covered over with 'ti'-tree twigs and boughs. The son exhibited symptoms of much grief. I pitied him and asked him why he lay in that position. He replied that white men were stupid, and that the blacks always treated their dead in this

fashion, for the purpose, as he said, of keeping them warm. How long he supported his deceased parent thus, I do not know; for, having ascertained when and where the burying was to be, I left the camp, intending to be present to witness the ceremony, as I had never seen a burial." The son's explanation that he was keeping the body of his father warm is only part of the truth; the blacks believe that an evil spirit, whom they call 'dibble-dibble' is prowling about on such occasions, and that he would carry off the body and devour it, if it were not guarded; for there is an evil spirit, which, as they say, delights to feed on carrion of all sorts.

Modes of Burial. Our natives have many different ways of disposing of their dead. They inter the body (1) at full length; (2) lying on its side, with the lower part of the legs from the knee folded up behind; (3) with the body trussed up in a bundle; (4) with the body erect in the grave; (5) with the body laid in a side cavity dug into the earth from the bottom of a pit; (6) they place the body in a hollow tree and leave it there, closing up the aperture with a sheet of bark; (7) they place the body on a high raised platform, and afterwards gather the bones of the skeleton, or leave them on the stage or scattered on the ground; (8) they carry about these bones for some time and then inter them; (9) they do not inter the body, but merely lay it on the surface of the ground, and cover it over with logs, or they cover it with a mound of earth, and mark some trees near by with a peculiar blazon; (10) they fix the body over a slow fire, and thus desiccate and smoke it till it is quite hard; then they carry it about with them a while and afterwards bury it; the oil and juices which the fire brings from the body are rubbed on their own bodies; (11) they eat the dead body; (12) in some districts the body is burned. Now, the great variety of these modes of burial has always seemed to me a strong proof that the Australian race is very mixed; for a homogenous nation is very conservative in its modes of the disposal of its dead; and even cremation in our own day and country makes little progress against old habit, although it was common in old times, and is still common in some eastern countries. In Australia the different modes that I have enumerated all exist in different localities, except the first, second, and third, which are found in the same tribe—the Kurringgai. In one portion of that tribe I know of a tribal cemetery; for a black likes to be buried near his kindred just as much as we do, and near the place of his birth; this burying-ground is on a tongue of land formed by the river and is well shaded with trees; and in it that tribule has laid its dead for many generations. Some have been interred there lying at full length and others trussed up; and this seems to indicate that there are reasons for that difference. The burial in a hollow tree, and still more the raised stage for the dead body, remind one at once of the "towers of silence" by which the corpse and the earth were kept from contact with each other; and even when they inter, the blacks are careful to surround the body with boughs so that the earth may not touch it. This novelty of a raised stage can scarcely be a thing which our blacks have invented for themselves since they came into Australia; and if it is a custom which some portion of their ancestors brought with them into this country, I would argue from it that these ancestors were once in contact with, or rather formed part of, a race which had beliefs similar to those of the Persians; such beliefs are not readily adopted by strangers; they belong to a race. And further, this practice is in strange contrast to the trussing and tying of the body elsewhere, which is done, as the black say, to prevent the spirit of the deceased from wandering in the night from its bed, and disturbing the living and doing them harm; for the spirit of the dead is malevolent for a long time after death. The



As placed in the Grave.



As desiccated, and then carried about for a time.

roasting of a dead body over a fire seems to us a shameful thing; but it corresponds with the mummifying of the dead in Egypt for preservation. A friend in Queensland said to me one day:—"King Jackey's brother on our station was dried in this way, and carried about for years by his mother. We always knew when "old Alie" had come into the camp by the wail which the other blacks sent up on her appearance with her burden." The juices are rubbed on their bodies by the relatives, from the idea that thereby the qualities of the deceased are transferred to them. The same is the explanation of the horrid practice of eating the dead. The body was first skinned and then the relatives ate the choice parts, thinking that thereby they became partakers of the same nature. The laying of the body on the surface of the ground with a mound over it is another curious custom; for this is done even where the ground is so soft as to admit of easy excavation for a grave. It is an old custom, and, as such, there must be some reason for it.

The Grave. The most interesting, because the most novel, form of grave is that of the side cave driven horizontally in from the bottom of the pit. Such a custom must be ancestral, for there is nothing whatever to make it necessary. The Goulburn blacks in Victoria did this; so did the Omeo blacks in Gippsland; but I have found that the same custom existed in Fiji and also in Java. Can this curious observance have been invented independently in these diverse places? In Fiji, when the shaft is to be sunk, the first sod is cut with much ceremony; then the pit is sunk and the grave chamber made, and the chief laid therein with his strangled wives. When all is over, the sods are carefully replaced and every effort used to remove all traces of an excavation. In Fiji also, as with us, there are different modes of burial; the corpse is laid at full length with its head resting on the wooden bar which is used in households as a pillow; or the legs are drawn up and the body doubled till the knees touch the chin, the elbows being put close to the sides and the hands turned up; the whole is then bound together securely.

When our dead native is to be interred, his male friends—his father, son, uncle—go to a soft piece of ground and with their tools—a tomahawk, digging-stick and hands, they dig a circular hole about three feet deep and two feet in diameter, as much as will hold the body; the bottom of the grave is then lined with 'ti'-tree bark, the body is laid thereon, and pieces of stringy-bark are placed all round it; the earth is then filled in, leaving a depression at the top, on which a relative sleeps for several nights, to prevent the evil spirits from carrying off the body. On the Darling River, a mound is raised over the grave and a low fence of brushwood put round it, and, just inside the fence and around the grave, are laid many pieces of white plaster shaped like eggs. I think that these white eggs are put there as charms against the approach of evil spirits; for Layard says that, "in the court around the tomb of the founder of the Yezidis, there is a small recess filled with balls of clay taken from the tomb of the saint. These are sold or distributed to pilgrims and regarded as very sacred—useful against diseases and evil spirits, and to be buried with the dead." And Threlkeld states that in the Australian Bora ceremonies the word *yarro*, which means 'egg,' is used in a mystic sense also for 'fire' or 'water.' And among the Khasias—a hill tribe of north-eastern India—an illness is exorcised by the breaking of eggs, among other methods. A mystic egg also figures largely in some of the most ancient cosmogonies.

In Northern Queensland, when the body is about to be buried, a fire is first kindled in the grave—evidently to drive out the evil spirits—and after the grave is closed, a fire is kept burning on the surface—evidently to drive

off the evil spirits at night; if the corpse is placed in a hollow tree, the piece which has been cut out of the tree to admit the corpse is carefully replaced—evidently to prevent the spirits from knowing that there is a body there. At Wide Bay, also in Queensland, the natives are very careful not to allow any of the earth to touch the body that is buried; and, to accomplish this, they make a stage of sticks and bark over the body, and on this they pile the earth that closes the grave. They also make mounds over the graves. In the Wirádhari country, New South Wales, a hut is erected over the grave, and thither friends come for several months; but after a year or so the hut is pulled down.

Even the digging of a grave seems to be attended with some danger; for at Cooper's Creek the men who go to do this work daub their bodies all over with red and white spots and put pipeclay on their heads. In Fiji also, the man who has dug the grave of a chief is unclean for a year. In South Australia, the corpse is rubbed over with red ochre; and the same is done on the coast of New Guinea. In the red colour there must be some virtue which is of service to the dead in their subsequent existence as spirits, and probably in their first passage into spirit land, like the Grecian 'obolus' placed between the teeth of the dead man.

Burial. The rites of burial are varied to suit the mode which the tribe practises, but there are some accompaniments of burial which are invariable. These are:—questions put to the deceased in order to ascertain who was the cause of his death; the relatives wail at the grave in token of grief, and make gashes on their heads with cutting instruments or burn their bodies with fire sticks. Mourning is put on and worn for some time after the burial; and a wail of grief is raised every evening for a month or two; the name of the deceased is never mentioned again; and, if any common word formed part of his name, that word is dropped and another substituted for it. After the burial, all the blacks dwelling there at the time of the death shift their camp to another place. These customs I shall presently illustrate by examples. But first let me make some general remarks.

Some of our blacks are long-lived. I knew one or two who were supposed to be over eighty years of age, and one of these, although paralysed and helpless, and lying on the ground in his rude 'gunya,' was contented and merry; he was carefully tended by his two daughters. "Another black" says a friend, "must be nearly a hundred years of age from all accounts." But wherever they are brought into contact with the vices of white men, as in our larger towns, they die off very rapidly. I am told that in the Maitland district, fifty years ago, there was a warrior known as Jimmy; he and his son, and his grandson, all died within thirty years.

An old person, when no longer able to follow the camp as it moves about from place to place, and evidently near death, is left at a suitable spot in charge of one or two others; if a woman, she is placed in the care of a woman and a girl; a man has a man and a boy left with him. When death comes, these dig the grave and inter the body or bury it otherwise, and then rejoin the camp.

The blacks, as I have said, bury in any soft ground which may happen to be near, but some tribes have regular burying-grounds which have been used for generations, and are considered sacred. To these a corpse will be brought from a distance of many miles. "My black boy," says a friend, "wishes to be buried where he was reared." This is the idea of kinship and clanship even in spirit-land. I need not compare with this similar practices and desires in all ages and countries.

Wherever a tribe inter the dead, after the grave is neatly dug, the body is slung on a long pole borne on the shoulders of two relatives, and is carried thus to the place of interment, followed by a company of friends; but, before it is placed in the grave, a wizard, standing by, questions the deceased and asks him what enemy it was that bewitched him and so caused his death, and so on, to which questions answers are given by an old black on the other side; sometimes these questions are asked while the body is on its way to the grave, the bearers standing still for a little to see if the dead man, by any movement, supplies an answer. When the body is in the grave, weapons and articles of clothing are placed beside the dead; all present, and especially his relatives, contributing something; thus they show their belief in a life after death; the women and the men then utter pitiful yells and cut their heads till these stream with blood, or they take up fire-brands, if they are near, and with them burn scars on the skins. This custom is of very ancient date; for the Mosaic law says, "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." The mourning for the dead is continued for three or four months; the bereaved relatives, mostly the women, smear their head with pipe-clay, and at supper time and during the night raise loud cries of mourning.

Where the grave is like ours in shape, the body is simply wrapped at full length in two sheets of bark, secured with stout cords, and laid in the grave; above the body is placed another sheet of bark, then grass, logs, and earth, the earth on the surface being left as a mound. In one part of Queensland, two sticks are set up in the ground near the grave; each is about 2 feet long, shaped like a club, and painted red; their tops are covered with fine white down from the cockatoo. In the Kamalarai country, not only is the bark of the adjacent trees marked with devices, but another grave is dug near by—a sort of cenotaph—for no body is put in it; this they do, the blacks say, "to cheat the Kruben." The 'Kruben' is a malevolent spirit that wanders about at night, and carries off little children from the camp, and punishes those men who are so wicked as to break any of the tribal laws of restriction; and "cheating the Kruben" seems to imply that he tears and devours the spirit of the dead, and perhaps their bodies too.

The Ghost. The tribes also believe that, after a man's death, his spirit wanders about, revisits the grave, interviews the spirits of its living friends in dreams, eats up the remains of food left lying about, and warms itself at the night fires. Thus, when Buckley was seen sitting on a grave, feeble from want of food, and with a broken spear in his hand, he was naturally regarded as the spirit of the deceased black man come back to visit his body, and was welcomed by the tribule as one of themselves.

Something analogous to all this is found among the blacks of Lower Guinea. When a man dies there, they ascribe his decease to the enchantments of an enemy. At the grave they ask the corpse to tell who it was that took away his life by sorcery; why he departed; was it because he was dissatisfied; and so on. They believe that souls pass into other bodies, but that the spirit of the deceased still lives in another state, and therefore they inter with him most of his own effects, and valuable presents from his friends. They believe also that the wizards, by their incantations, can raise the dead man to life, and make him hunt and fish and work for them. Therefore, they erect at the burying place a wooden image of the god who is the guardian of the dead; thus the wizards are foiled. Is this the meaning of the carvings on the trees and the red sticks at the graves of our own indigenes?

Shift Camp. Our blackfellows desert their camp when one of them has died; so also do the Hottentots. An explanation of this may be got in a belief, shared by many ancient nations, but most developed among the Hindus, that, when the "gross body" is laid in the grave or burned, the soul still lives in a material form, but that at first this is only a "subtile body," not a real one, and therefore restless and miserable—a foul, wandering ghost, "unhouselled, disappointed, unaneled,"—so miserable as to have delight in doing miserable acts, and taking revenge on all living creatures. Hence, also, among various nations of old, savage and civilised, funeral rites were renewed at various intervals; for it was by these that the spirit gradually attained to the possession of a real body, capable of enjoying its new life.

The Funeral. To illustrate the funeral arrangements of the tribes, I now give two quotations from private sources:—"King Jackey's funeral, August, 1833. A long neck of land is here formed by the junction of a creek with the river, and the extremity of it, surrounded on three sides by thickly growing timber, was the place of interment,—as pretty a spot for the purpose I know of nowhere. When I approached, I saw an old man digging the grave. This was a most laborious task, for the ground was very hard, and the only tool he used was a tomahawk. The form of the grave was oval, and its depth when finished was a little short of four feet. There were about a dozen or more of blacks squatting or standing around, and amongst them the father, mother, and several brothers of the deceased. The parents were howling in company, the man's voice resembling the three sounds *a—a—ar*, long dwelt upon. The female's was more a treble, like *ei—ou—ou*. This noise they kept up without intermission. The body, itself, trussed up in as small a compass as possible and wrapped in rugs, was on the ground about four yards from the grave, supported by two relatives, who, as they bent over it on their knees, gave full tokens of their grief and affection. The digging being finished, the sexton went to some of the youngest and freshest looking trees; breaking off the small leafy branches, he proceeded to line the grave with them. When this was done, the brother of the deceased descended to try whether the grave was comfortable, which he did by lying in it in the position the body was to occupy. Some slight alterations were required, and when these were made the younger members of the family came forward, and, surrounding the corpse, lifted it from the ground. While doing this, they gave a great shout, and blew with their mouths, and waved with their hands over the body. These same observances were repeated while the body was being lowered into the grave, where the brother of the deceased had already placed himself, ready to receive the body, and to lay it carefully so that not a particle of earth should touch it. The shout then set up by all of them was awfully deafening. The old father, rushing by me, seized a tomahawk and cut his head in several places, until the blood gushed in quantities from the wounds. Another old man snatched the instrument from him and covered his own head with gashes; three or four did the same, some most viciously, while others seemed to think that very little of that sort of thing was enough. The howling continued all the while. Sheets of bark were now placed carefully over the body, and the old men stretched themselves at full length on the ground and howled dreadfully. One of them at length got up, and took a piece of bark which he placed across the grave, and stretched himself on it, crying with all his might. I then left them, nothing of the ceremony remaining but the filling up of the grave."

Another friend, from whom I have quoted elsewhere, thus describes an interment which he saw in 1842:—"I repaired to the spot indicated on the

following day, and found that a grave had been dug after the English fashion, and in a short time the body was brought on a sheet of bark, wrapped in a rug, on the shoulders of four of the tribe. They deposited the body beside the grave, collected a lot of leaves and twigs, which they spread on the bottom of the grave and along its sides. The body was then lowered down,—about three feet and a half—and when the earth and stones began to descend, the eldest son jumped up, gave a fearful yell, drew his tomahawk from his belt, and inflicted two or three severe cuts on his head, before his friends could wrench the weapon from his grasp. I really thought he would have killed himself. When the tomahawk was secured, he sat down, sobbing and weeping, on a stone at the head of the grave, the blood trickling, nay flowing, rapidly down his face and breast, and there was quite a pool of blood at his feet, before the ceremony was ended. All the males of the tribe seemed really sad and sorry, as the poor old man was very much respected. About a hundred yards from the grave, the females had established a fire before the corpse arrived; they commenced a dirge and gave expression to deep grief and sympathy; when the body was covered up, they howled and lamented pitifully, and with fire-sticks burned their arms in different places, but not seriously; a few had the pluck to tap their heads with a tomahawk to the effusion of blood, but they did it gently. I went up to the women, when I saw what they were doing, and asked the reason why they chopped their heads and burned their arms, and I was told it was the custom. I asked if they were sorry, but they said they were not. This ended the first and last aboriginal funeral I ever witnessed. The man's name was never afterwards mentioned, nor his grave visited, by any of the tribe."

Cause of In the New Hebrides islands, similar beliefs and customs exist.

Death. A friend, writing to me from Epi there, says:—"Unless the person is very old or the cause of death is very obvious, the natives here generally ascribe the death to an evil spirit called 'Semi,' who 'poisons' people; 'semi' means 'poison.' Very often he acts by human agency, and many a suspect is shot in consequence. The body is sewed up in matting and banana leaves. The burial is usually on the day following the death. All relatives or other friends of the deceased within a reasonable distance attend. There is a great wailing kept up by the women within the enclosure where the body lies. The men simply look in for a minute or two to cry, and then retire. Two male relatives dig the grave. The body is lowered, and a great quantity of banana leaves is laid over it before the earth is filled in. The disembodied spirit is supposed to haunt the scenes of its former life. Cocoa-nuts, bananas, pudding, and other kinds of food are often hung on a tree or stick beside the grave, for the refreshment of the wandering spirit. Sometimes, in the still night a brother shouts out the name of the departed, and tells him, with all the strength of his lungs, "Cocoonuts and bananas are here; come and take them."

Two Our indigenes, in the western part of the colony of Victoria, think that children under five years of age have no spirits, but every person over that age has not only a soul or spirit of natural life, but also another spirit which takes a visible but undefined form after death; it frequents the dead man's grave for a time, but disappears when any one comes near. For it a fire is kept burning all night near the spot. Elsewhere, in Victoria, it is said that the spirit, after hovering for a time near the grave, finally goes off towards the setting sun; and for its convenience, or rather guidance, where a long grave is used, the head is laid towards the east and the feet to the west; elsewhere it is the reverse. This spirit is the wraith or likeness of himself, which accompanies every adult

all through life, but is not visible to himself or any one else until he sees it when death approaches. The tribes near New Nurcia, in Western Australia, believe that, when a man is buried, his spirit sits on the branches of a tree near by, singing dolefully like a bird.

Among the Kamalarai, the shroud of bark which encloses the body is furnished with ornamental appendages, which make it twice or three times the length of the body within. The grave is only a deep hole, and the corpse is placed therein upright. No earth is allowed to touch the head, which is protected by timber above it. A mound is raised over the grave. In letting down the body, those near say 'whirr.' They make little fires about the grave "to drive away evil spirits from the living," as some say; but others say the fires are for the benefit of the dead.

In Victoria, also, no one cared to touch a dead body with his hand; that brings defilement; and, in burying, the utmost care was used to cover every part of the body and save it from contact with the earth. But in other parts of the same colony no such care was used, and the body was prepared for burial by greasing, and rubbing over with red ochre. In South Australia, the Narrinyeri desiccate the body and carry it about with them in that state for months. The skeleton is then left on a raised platform of sticks. The skull is sometimes preserved. A similar practice exists near East Cape, in New Guinea. There the dead are buried in a sitting posture, with the hands folded. The earth is filled in up to the mouth only; an earthen pot covers the head. After a time, the skull is taken up and hung up in a net within the house of the deceased.

Revenge. I have said that, at the burial, the dead man is interrogated as to the cause of his death. This is no idle form; for, if the kinsmen imagine that they have got sure indications of the perpetrator of the wrong, they are resolute in taking vengeance. This they consider a duty which lies upon them all, to avenge their friend's death. These indications would seem to us futile enough, but we are not Australian blackfellows. Of course, the questioning does not often induce answers sufficient to satisfy the friends; hence other modes are used. On the night before the burial, a male relative lays himself on the dead man's body, expecting to get some sign from the deceased. If a sound is heard, perhaps it may be from a kangaroo rat, it is taken as a hint from the dead, and the direction from which it comes is the direction in which they should seek for the enemy; or after the burial, the earth on the grave is watched, and the track of the first beetle or worm that emerges shows the direction in which they ought to go; even the way in which the clay covering of a grave cracks is a sign. As soon as the relatives have persuaded themselves that they know who it is that has caused the death, they organise a revenge party of three or four men; these travel by night and use every effort to conceal their movements until they can pounce upon the suspected man, and thrust him through with a spear. In all likelihood, it is an innocent man who is thus killed; and so there arises a blood-feud between his kindred and the perpetrators of the wrong, if they can be discovered; and matters go on in this way among the tribes and tribes, until there is scarcely a man of them who does not feel that his life is constantly in danger from one cause or another. Need we wonder, then, that under the influence of so depressing sources of dread and uncertainty, social life among our indigenes should tend rather to degradation than to elevation.

Analogies. The Papuans have customs quite analogous to these in relation to their dead. The Koiari tribe, near the south coast of New Guinea, keep fires burning night and day for months at the head and foot of

the grave; the body is also desiccated as in South Australia and thus becomes almost a dry skeleton; then it is covered with a uniformly red colour. In the process of drying by fire, the entire skin is first removed and the relatives who do this—parents or spouse—rub the juices which the fire brings from the body all over their own person. To discover who is blameable for the death, the wizard places on the corpse, at burial, several straws to represent the number and position of the villages around; he then begins his sacred song; and if a fly, or beetle, or other insect alights on any one of the straws, that tells him where the guilty person lives. Suspicion does the rest of the work. In the same locality, a small hut, having offerings within, is erected over a grave, and if a husband lies there, the widow sits at the head of it besmeared all over with ashes; to this hut the widow repairs again and again, perhaps twice a day, for several years, still wearing the garb of mourning. The grave is not filled in. The body lies with the feet to the sea; but in the eastern Pacific the face is laid towards the rising sun. A Papuan tribe, some distance inland from Port Moresby, do not often inter their dead, but leave the body in a small hut which the relatives often visit; when they do inter, the body stands in the grave. If there are many deaths, the whole village removes to another spot.

In Fiji, a few of the burial customs are similar to those in Australia. For instance, the grave is about three feet deep, mats are laid on the bottom, and the corpse is also wrapped in mats; a pent-house or roof, a few feet high, is put over some graves; the women make blazes on their bodies in token of grief; the face of the dead is painted with vermilion. Women there sometimes refuse to part with the dead body of a child, and keep it beside them; a local queen caused her dead child to be suspended in a box from the roof of a temple, and food to be offered to it for months.

Mourning. Our own black women mourn as sincerely and deeply for a dead child as any mother can do. One woman persisted in carrying a child about for a long time, even while the stench was such that none could stay near her. Among the pigmy blacks of the Andaman Islands, the parents and relatives weep for hours beside the corpse of an infant; for mourning, they put a lump of white clay over their foreheads, and leave it there till the days of mourning are ended; our blacks do the same with the pipe-clay on their heads. The Andamanese mother then paints the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with red clay and white clay, and folding the body, knees to chin and hands to the shoulder, just as our black fellows do for adults, she wraps it in leaves which are secured to the body with cords; the body is buried in a sitting posture; near the grave she places some of her own milk, and kindles a fire there; and the whole encampment moves off to a distance of several miles. The Andamanese make the same kind of mourning for adults, but they carry their adult dead into the jungle, and either inter the bodies there or place them on a platform. In the grave the body is set with the face to the east; they blow on the face to say good-bye, and then fill in the grave; a fire is kindled there, and water and some other serviceable articles are placed near; the brushwood for some distance around the grave is cleared away; if on a platform, the body is still made to look to the east, because, as they say, the abode of the dead is there.

In some parts of Australia, the blacks will not go near a recent grave for a month or so after the interment; but on the Murray River, near Wentworth, one or two friends visit the grave every morning for about a month to keep the fires burning and the ground around the grave carefully swept. If there are no foot-prints of spirits to be seen on the cleared ground, they conclude that the spirit of the dead man does not wander at night, and is therefore happy and does not require the fire or any further attention.

I have already said that, in Queensland, a certain tribe marks the trees near a grave with red spots, and sets up two red sticks with white cockatoo feathers on them a-top. On Car Nicobar Island, in the Bay of Bengal, the natives set up a post with peculiar marks on it at the head of a grave; when the body is decayed, they disinter the bones, and cast them into the deep sea. These same Nicobarese use the toes for picking up anything, just as our blacks do.

But more striking analogies than these are to be found in African regions. Du Chaillu says:—"My servant, Ishungui, died. The relatives of the deceased slept one night in his house, as a mark of respect, and then all that remained was to discover the person who had bewitched the dead man. When all was ready for the trial, I went down to look at the doctor, who looked literally like the devil. I never saw a more ghastly object. He had on a high head-dress of black feathers. His eyelids were painted red, and a red stripe from the nose upwards, divided his forehead in two parts. Another red stripe passed round his head. The face was painted white, and on each side of the mouth were two round red spots. From each shoulder, down to his hands, was a white stripe, and one hand was painted quite white."

"They fear the spirits of the recently departed; and, besides placing furniture, dress, and food at their graves, they return from time to time, with other supplies of food. When men and women are slain over a grave, they even believe that their spirits join that of him in whose honour they have been killed. During the season of mourning, the deceased is remembered and feared, but when once his memory grows dim, they cease to believe in the prolonged existence of the departed spirit. Ask a negro where the spirit of his grandfather or great grandfather whom he did not know is, and he will reply confidently that it is 'done, gone out, no more;' or that he does not know where it has gone. The fear of spirits of the departed seems an instinctive feeling for which they do not attempt even themselves to account, and about which they have formed no theory. They believe the spirit is near and about them; that it requires food and property; that it can and sometimes does harm them. They think it a vindictive thing, to be feared and to be conciliated. But, as the memory of the departed grows dim so does the fear of his spirit vanish."

"The greatest curse of the whole country is the belief in 'aniemba,' sorcery or witchcraft. The African firmly believes death to be always a violence. If the African is once possessed with the belief that he is bewitched, his whole nature seems to change. He becomes suspicious of his dearest friends. The father dreads his children, the son his father and mother, the man his wife, and the wives their husbands. He fancies himself sick, and really often does become sick through his fears. By night he thinks himself surrounded with evil spirits; he covers himself with fetiches and charms, makes presents to the idol, and to [the great spirits] Abambou and Mburi; and is full of wonder and frightful dreams, which all point to the fact that the village is full of wicked *sorcerers*."

"I find that the superstitions of the people [the Apingi] are as great as those of the tribes nearer the sea. They hold that death is caused by witchcraft, but yet they do not remove after every death, as do the Camma, Shekiana, Bakalai, and the other tribes. Among the sea-shore tribes, the Apingi have great repute as wizards, and Apingi-land is the land of 'aniemba,' where anyone may learn to become a powerful sorcerer. Consequently the Apingi fetiches are very highly valued by the coast tribes, especially those professing to remove barrenness."

"The natives of Equatorial Africa are perpetually changing the sites of their villages in obedience to their migratory instincts, which they do not recognise, and for which they make the most absurd excuses, saying that a man has died in that town, and that the place has become unlucky; or that a leopard has been seen prowling about and that they are afraid. They believe in the transmigration of souls; some think that after death they become white men; the soul transmigrates into the bodies of birds and animals, others say. Criminals, however, are debarred from taking a second lease of life, even in the humblest form; they fly about as ghosts and torment mankind by their hideous appearance. Most of the negroes exercise baptismal rites, and the practice of circumcision seems to be universal in Africa, except at Accra. The initiatory ceremonies in Northern Guinea are of a higher order. The novice is shut up in a house during eight days. Food is given him once a day, and he sees only the slave who brings it. At the end of that time, masked men present themselves to him to try his courage in every possible way. If he braves the test, he is made an adept."

"By a light and constant fire in the anus, the intestines are dried up like parchment. The body is then plastered over with red clay, and rolled up in cloth until it becomes a shapeless mass. The richer the person, the more cloth he receives. Finally he is buried in a large grave, over which is erected a roofless house. In Loango there is this difference—the body is more rudely prepared by being smoked on a scaffold over a green fire, in the same manner as they dry their fish or their elephant meat. From six months to a year, according to the rank of the deceased, the mummy is exposed in a sacred house, to which his relatives come at stated periods to mourn. After this he is placed in a coffin shaped like a barrel, and conveyed to the grave in a kind of car."

"As we approached [the Shekiani village], the women caught sight of me, and ran screaming into the houses. It is curious that nothing excites so much terror in an interior African village as the appearance of a *white man*."

There is enough in these extracts to prove that the ideas of these Equatorial Africans as to death and its causes are the same as those that prevail among our Australian blacks. But similar ideas existed among the Jews also more than 1,800 years ago, as this extract will show:—

"In addition to their reputed powers as prophets and interpreters of dreams, the Essenes were also held in high estimation as medicine-men. Among the Jews of the time of Christ, most diseases were looked upon either as the work of evil spirits, or as punishments inflicted upon men by the immediate decree of an offended God. But the main tendency of Jewish thought, in the time of Christ, was to attribute diseases to the machinations of the powers of evil. At the head of this malignant host stood Satan, the prince of the world, and he was surrounded by a multitude of inferior spirits. Many of these demons were believed to be the souls of the dead who roamed through the air, haunting tombs and desert places, in a disembodied form. The ghosts of the giants who lived in antediluvian times, the ghosts of the builders of the tower of Babel, and the ghosts of those multitudes who perished at the Flood, were all numbered among the evil spirits which brought diseases and death on men, and the spirits of the wicked became demons after death. These demons entered the human body by the nostrils, being presumably inhaled with the breath; they produced dumbness, lameness, madness, blindness, epilepsy, and indeed every ailment of which there was the least doubt about the origin. Once a

demon had taken possession of a man, the ordinary manner of getting him expelled was by resorting to the mysterious processes of exorcism. The Jews had a wide reputation throughout the Roman Empire as exorcists; the rabbis practised exorcism in Palestine, and there can be little doubt that the Essenes made use of it as well. The spells and incantations on which the exorcists relied were believed to have been handed down by such men as Noah, David, Solomon, who in turn were supposed to have learned them from the angels."

IX. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, let anyone ask me how it is that our aborigines have sunk so low in the scale of humanity as to be regarded as among the most degraded of the races of men. I deny that this estimate of them is well founded; on the contrary, I assert that it was formed long ago by those who imperfectly understood the habits and the social organisation of our native tribes, and has been ignorantly passed from mouth to mouth ever since; that when these are thoroughly examined, our blacks are not the despicable savages that they are too often represented to be. They have or had virtues which some of us might profitably imitate; they are faithful and affectionate to those who treat them kindly; they have rules of family morality which are enforced by severe penalties. They show the greatest respect to age; they carefully tend and never desert the sick and infirm; their boys are compelled to content themselves with meagre fare, and to bring the best of the food which they have found and to present it to the aged members of the tribe and to those who have large families. I am assured by one who had much intercourse with them for thirty years that he never knew them to tell a lie, and that his property was always safe in their hands. Another of my friends says:—"At Cobark, long ago, the station, with the stores and everything else, was left for a whole fortnight in the charge of the black servants, the white men being away on business; on their return not a thing was missed." Another who has been familiar with them since he was a child, says:—"Naturally they are an affectionate, peaceful people; and, considering that they have never been taught to know right from wrong, their behaviour is wonderful; I leave my house open, the camp being close by, and feel the greatest confidence in them."

Then, again, although the material civilisation of the world was commenced by the race of Ham, yet the task soon fell from their hands, for morally they were unfit for it; for the conservation and the first dissemination of a pure and undefiled religion, we are indebted to the race of Shem; while the sons of Japheth, *audax Iapeti genus*, have gone forth to rule the earth and the sea—even, Columbus-like, penetrating to the regions of the Far West—and to spread the blessings of good government, and the arts and inventions of an enlightened age to the remotest lands. The Hamites, on the other hand, have continued to sink in the social scale, have been crushed down by the other races, and thus debased; and wherever, as in our island here, the sky above and the earth beneath have conspired to render the means of life meagre and precarious, there the process of decay has been accelerated, and physically and socially their condition has been very low; but still among their institutions there are traces of better things. Would that we had a full record of what they really are before they pass away from among us!



An Australian of the Minyung Tribe

X. APPENDIX.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

✓ 1. MAP OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AS OCCUPIED BY THE NATIVE TRIBES ... *Frontispiece.*

This is at once a Map of the Colony of New South Wales and of the native tribes in it. No attempt has hitherto been made to show the precise extent of territory occupied by each of these tribes; their location has been under my consideration and inquiry for the past ten years, and I believe that the results now shown are nearly correct. The conditions which determine the bounds of a tribe are explained on page 36 of this pamphlet. The names Yunggai, Paikalyung, Wachigari, and Murringgari or Murrinjari, I have made; for, although these tribes have special names for their sub-tribes, they do not seem to have any general name for the whole tribe. Yung is the name for New England, the table-land occupied by that tribe; Wachi is the local word for 'no.'

✓ 2. PLAN OF A BORA-GROUND, SHOWING MARKED TREES 11

This Bora ground is near the township of Gloucester, about 70 miles to the north of Newcastle. It lies in the thickest depths of the forest there, on a mountain spur which runs east and west. The last Bora ceremony was held there twenty years ago. On this ground, as usual, the path from the lower circle to the sacred one leads up hill, and so the site of the latter cannot be seen from below. The plan is drawn to scale, and shows the upper circle to be much larger than the other. The number of candidates to be initiated sometimes makes this necessary; for the young men have to lie on the ground within the sacred circle for days or weeks together; there may have been fifteen or twenty candidates on that occasion—an unusually large number. The Bora ceremonies are dying out, for the young men now refuse to be initiated.

The exigencies of the plan make the carved trees look like stumps, but they are all tall and stout gum trees. I examined this ground five years ago.

✓ 3. CARVING ON A BORA TREE 42

This also is a marked tree at a Bora circle near Gloucester, but 15 miles to the north-east of it. The figure of the iguana on the tree I take to be an emblem of one of the native gods; that animal is a *totem* to one of the tribal classes. In heraldry the two human figures would be called "supporters." The whole is drawn to scale.

✓ 4. DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD 80

These two figures are photographed from the originals which are now in the Australian Museum, Sydney. The skeleton shows the most common of the modes of burial, and the other is a corpse as desiccated and carried about.

✓ 5. PHOTOGRAPH OF AN INDIGENE OF THE MINYUNG TRIBE 91

This is a good specimen of one native type; he is a Clarence River black.

PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS.

THERE are now scarcely five thousand full-blood blacks in New South Wales. Notwithstanding the fostering care of our Government and of the Aborigines' Protection Societies, these natives are rapidly dying out, and ere long only the name and memory of the tribes will be left in our territory. As yet, not much has been done here to secure a faithful record of what they are and have been. The present Commissioners to the World's Fair have wisely resolved to make a beginning in the collection of scientific data as to the physical condition of the blacks still alive within our borders, and of the craniological features of the race in the past. For this purpose they have asked Dr. J. T. Wilson, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Sydney, to examine some of the aboriginal skulls now in the Australian Museum, Sydney, and they have got the police surgeons and the police to make anthropometric measurements of the natives in various parts of the colony. The data which have thus been obtained in the interests of science are very valuable; but, as they are copious and elaborate, only a mere abstract of them can be given in this pamphlet, and this I now do by the direction of the Commissioners.

1.—ANTHROPOMETRY.

In this section the returns obtained from the various localities give the name, age, weight, &c., of each person measured, but I have condensed these returns for the purposes of this pamphlet by striking the average for each particular, according to the number of persons shown. Therefore, in the tabulated view given below, the columns are arranged thus :—

- 1—*The place near which the persons measured are usually found.*
- 2—*The map No. of the tribe in which that place lies.*
- 3—*The number of individuals who were there measured.*
- 4—*Their average age in years.*
- 5—*Their average height in inches.*
- 6—*Their average girth round the chest in inches.*
- 7—*Their average weight in lbs.*

All who were sixteen years old and under are reckoned as boys and girls. The various places at which these physical measurements were taken are indicated in column 1 of the tabulated view by the Italic letters prefixed to the names in the following list :—

- I. KAMALARAI TRIBE, No. (on map) I, II, III—
a—Walgett *b*—Goodooga *c*—Cobar
d—Coonamble *e*—Wollar (near Gulgong)
 - IV. YUNG-GAI TRIBE, No. IV—
f—Ashford *g*—Bundara *h*—Walcha
 - V. YAKKA-JARI TRIBE, No. V—
i—Wellingrove (near Glen Innes) *k*—Tenterfield
 - VI. PAIKAL-YUNG TRIBE, No. VI—
l—Grafton *o*—Lower Clarence River
m—Lismore *p*—Wardell (on Richmond River)
n—Casino *q*—Murwillumbah (on Tweed River)
 - VII. WACHI-GARI TRIBE, No. VII—
r—Oban (near Kookabookra)
 - VIII. KURING-GAI TRIBE, No. VIII—
s—Windsor *t*—Picton
 - IX. MURRIN-JARI TRIBE, No. IX—
u—Kiama *y*—Nelligen (near Bateman's Bay)
v—Nowra *z*—Eden
w—Yass *aa*—Eurobodalla (near Tuross River)
x—Queanbeyan *bb*—Wallaga Lake (near Mount Dromedary)
cc—Twillingah (near Moruya)
 - X. NGAREGO TRIBE, No. X—
dd—Cooma *ee*—Delegate (near Bombala)
 - XI. WIRA-DHARI TRIBE, No. XI—
ff—Obley (south of Dubbo) *gg*—Narrandera *hh*—Nyngan
- ii*—Brewarrina Mission Station, No. II.
kk—Brungle Mission Station (near Tumut), No. XI.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—FULL-BLOOD BLACKS.

1	2	MEN.					WOMEN.					BOYS.					GIRLS.				
		3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7
a	I	3	35	69	36	149	3	33	63	36½	148	3	6	42	23½	53					
b	II	3	52½	66	37½	148½	3	41½	60	31½	118	3	10½	47	23½	55					
c	III	3	40	66	33½	131½	3	43½	61½	32	99½	3	6½	38½	28½	40½					
d	"	4	38½	67½	37½	157½	3	37	62	34	125	4	9½	52½	24½	78½					
e	I	2	67½	65½	34	134½	4	38½	62	38½	149	2	10½	52	28½	69					
f	IV	3	51	67	38½	138½	2	45	64½	34	106½	1	13	00	27½	90					
g	"	4	47	66½	45½	145	2	30½	65	33½	119										
h	"	3	45½	68½	37	152	3	32½	66	37½	150½	2	12	55	27	83½					
i	V	1	43	69½	38	168															
k	"	26	44½	66½	35	142	11	46½	60	31½	109	4	13½	59½	29½	96½	1	7	45½	21½	42
l	VI	3	46	68	37	167	3	47	62	37	116	3	12	52	25½	72					
m	"	1	35	68	38½	157	2	45	63½	32½	103	1	9	51	25	54					
n	"	1	48	66	38	154	1	35	68	30	93	1	6	45	24	34					
o	"	36	42	66½	31	127½	19	34½	60½	31½	116½	5	6	45	20	48½	9	6	41½	21½	45½
p	"	2	29½	66½	35½	151	1	40	64	34	119	1	12	53½	27	70					
q	"	3	35	67½	35	140½	3	29½	58	32	112	3	14½	59	27½	98					
r	VII	7	48	67½	35	146	4	47	55	30	133	2	7	38	23	72½	1	4	37	22	75
s	VIII	3	49	65	37	139	3	49½	60	33	112						2	8½	54	28½	82½
t	"	1	32	62½	36	150	2	55	62	38½	154										
u	IX	3	47½	67	35	143	2	27½	62	36½	160	3	13	52½	24½	74½					
v	"	3	45½	65½	34½	135½	3	37½	65½	34	107½	3	12	56	25½	79½					
w	"	2	41	67	36½	134															
x	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	49	63½	36	131										
y	"																				
z	"	2	47	65	35½	124															
aa	"	2	58	65½	36	130½	2	75	61	36	112										
bb	"	13	42½	64½	36½	129	3	42½	62½	38	141½	2	9½	49	27½	54½					
cc	"	8	53	68½	37	141½	2	52	62½	29½	95	2	11½	56½	27½	72½					
dd	X	1	18	63	31	103															
ee	"	8	37½	67½	32½	148½	3	27	63	31½	117	2	14½	59½	25½	82					
ff	XI	3	25	64	35	135	3	34	64½	36	147½	1	12	55½	25½	64	1	14	57	30	77
gg	"	15	45½	66	37½	153½	4	35	61	36	151										
hh	"	4	32	65½	32½	130½	2	34	61½	33½	143										
ii	II	3	33½	69½	37	155½	3	34½	61½	35½	151	3	11	54	23½	82					
kk	XI	2	55	65	35½	148	2	27½	63	30½	115½	2	8½	48½	24	58					

h and y—No full-blood blacks here.

TABLE II.—HALF-CASTE BLACKS.

1	2	MEN.					WOMEN.					BOYS.					GIRLS.				
		3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	7
a	I	3	33½	69½	35½	147½	3	31½	62	33	135	3	0½	49½	24½	73½					
b	II	1	20	72	38	188	2	22½	59	32½	117½	2	13	42½	22	47½					
c	III																				
d	"	3	32	63½	36	148	3	23½	62	31	106	3	7½	51	22	54½					
e	I	2	26	65½	35½	147½															
f	IV	1	38	68	36	154	-	-	-	-	-	5	12½	61	26½	88½	2	14½	59½	31½	99½
g	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	43	59½	34	118	1	14	55	31	92					
h	"	2	33	68½	36½	157	2	33½	64½	34½	146	3	10½	51½	24½	57½					
i	V	2	23	60½	35½	155	1	32	63½	32	140	1	9	46	23	65					
k	"	3	22	71½	36	158	6	25	62½	32½	124½	7	9½	39	22½	60½	5	11½	52½	25½	73
l	VI	3	22	60½	35	147	3	23½	62	30½	103	3	11	52½	25½	69½					
m	"	2	23	60½	34	123½	1	30	63	33	101	2	12	59½	28½	73½					
n	"	1	25	65½	36	134	1	18	64	37	112	1	10	46	29	70					
o	"	2	22	67½	31½	128	5	30½	64	32	125	1	8	50	25	53	2	5½	38	21	42½
p	"	1	40	71	39½	156	2	24½	64½	33½	117½	1	11	52	26	65					
q	"	2	27	60½	36½	156½	3	26	59	34	120	3	9½	50½	27½	59½					
r	VII																				
s	VIII	4	43	68	47	157															
t	"	5	25	60½	36½	154	4	40½	64	47	144½	6	9½	52	24½	57					
u	IX	3	45½	67½	35½	144	3	32½	58	32	129	3	6½	43	22	48½					
v	"	3	37	63½	35	147	3	52½	67	36	128½	3	13½	62	29	96					
w	"	5	43	68½	36½	154½	11	34½	62	35½	135	17	7½	45½	23	47½					
x	"	3	31½	66½	35½	136½	3	27½	60	34	103	3	11½	52½	26½	67					
y	"	4	32	69	37	137	2	23	66½	35½	137½	4	11	54½	27½	75					
z	"																				
aa	"	2	42½	69	41½	192½	5	35	64½	39½	140½	2	16	66½	32	109					
bb	"	5	27	66½	36	122	14	27½	62	34½	121½	8	10½	51½	26½	64					
cc	"	1	25	69	38	145	2	40½	68	33½	137½	6	9½	54½	25½	63½					
dd	X	1	19	66	37	162															
ee	"	1	47	68½	38	135						2	3½	36½	20½	38½	1	7	41	20	56
ff	XI	3	25½	71½	39½	175	7	27	64½	34	126	5	11½	57½	26½	78½					
gg	"	8	32½	68½	37	151½	6	29½	63	34	127½	6	9½	50½	25½	57½	5	9½	48½	25½	60½
hh	"																				
ii	II	1	21	69	38	136	3	26½	62½	33½	114	3	12	55½	23½	91½					
kk	XI	2	37	72½	33½	174	2	34	63½	33	135½	1	9	47½	22	48					

c, r, z, hh.—No half-castes here at present.

APPENDIX.

2.—STATURE.

Measurements of stature have also been got from each police district, but, as all of these cannot be produced here, I give the return from Walgett as a sample. The black letters on the margin below indicate the measurements, which are :—

- a—Ground to the calf of the leg (thickest part).
- b—Ground to the centre of the cap of the knee.
- c—Ground to the fork.
- d—Ground to the umbilicus.
- e—Ground to the chin.
- f—Ground to the tips of the fingers, the hand being placed against the thigh.
- g—Length of the arm from the point of the shoulder to the elbow.
- h—Length of the arm from the elbow to the tips of the fingers.

	FULL-BLOOD BLACKS.									HALF-CASTE BLACKS.								
	Three Men.			Three Women.			Three Boys.*			Three Men.			Three Women.			Three Boys.*		
	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.	in.
a	15½	16½	14½	14½	14	19	6½	8	14½	13½	15½	14	16½	15	14½	14½	10	9½
b	20½	22	20	18½	19	20½	8	11½	17½	20½	21	21½	18½	17½	19½	17½	14	12½
c	32½	33½	32	29½	30	32½	11½	17½	28	31½	34	32½	33	31½	32½	27	23	20
d	42½	43	40½	35½	36	41	16	21½	35	41	44	42½	37½	37½	38½	34½	28	25
e	61	60½	58	53½	55½	58	24½	32	45½	57	62½	58½	53½	54½	56½	45	40½	36
f	25½	23½	26	24½	24½	25	9½	13½	21½	25	25½	26	25½	23	24	20½	16½	15
g	15½	15	13½	14½	13½	13½	6½	8	12½	12½	14	13½	13½	12½	14½	12½	10	9
h	19	19½	18½	18	16½	17½	8	10½	16½	18½	20½	19	16½	16½	17½	15½	13½	11½

* The ages of the boys are not given.

3.—THE NUMBER OF THE ABORIGINES IN NEW SOUTH WALES. (CENSUS 1891.)

	Under 16 years.	16 years and under 21 years.	21 years and over.	Total.
<i>Full-blood—</i>				
Males	515	223	2,158	2,896
Females	492	189	1,540	2,201
<i>Half-castes—</i>				
Males	722	169	771	1,663
Females	704	159	657	1,520
<i>Total—</i>				
Males	1,238	392	2,929	4,559
Females	1,196	328	2,197	3,721

NOTE.—The ages of the Aborigines are estimated approximately.

4.—CRANIOMETRY.

Abstract Report on the Craniology of Australian Aborigines,

With table of measurements,

By J. T. Wilson, M.B. (Edin.); Professor of Anatomy, University of Sydney;
Formerly Demonstrator of Anatomy, University of Edinburgh.

It is proposed in this appendix to give a short abstract or summary of some of the characters of the skulls of Australian aborigines.

In illustration of some of the features referred to, there is added a table of measurements made by the reporter on a series of six crania. It would be idle to frame definite conclusions upon the results of an examination of any small number of skulls, and the table is not introduced here for any such purpose, but it will be found to be, on the whole, in accordance with the observations of other investigators.

The skulls measured were taken from the collection in the Australian Museum, and the Trustees of that institution having kindly placed their craniological series at his disposal, the reporter hopes in course of time to publish an extended series of observations and measurements, from which it may be possible to deduce more or less reliable averages and conclusions, capable of being brought into line with those already published by various eminent craniologists.

In the meantime a few of the chief references to the scientific literature of the craniology of Australian aborigines may be here indicated.

MM. de Quatrefages and Hamy, in their great work "*Crania Ethnica*," have given the results of a detailed examination by themselves of thirty-eight skulls, and they deal with data from other sources, making up the number of crania referred to to eighty-two.

Professor Flower, in his lecture on the "*Native Races of the Pacific Ocean*" (Proc. Roy. Inst. of Great Britain, 31st May, 1878), and in the "*Catalogue of the Osteological Specimens*" in the Museum of the Roy. Coll. of Surg., Eng. (Pt. I, 1879), has stated the results of the study of fifty-four Australian crania.

Professor Sir William Turner, in his Report on the Human Crania collected by the "*Challenger*" expedition ("*Challenger*" Reports, Vol. X, Pt. XXIX), publishes his own observations upon forty-four skulls, and collates his results with those obtained by the investigations of De Quatrefages and Hamy, Flower, and others. He thus obtains data collected from a series of one hundred and fifty crania, both from the littoral and the interior; the exact localities of collection being known in one hundred and twenty-nine cases, and scattered over almost the entire extent of the island-continent.

For a further bibliography on the subject the reader may be referred to the memoirs just quoted, and to a catalogue of the literature bearing on Australian aborigines generally, by R. Etheridge, junr., published by the Department of Mines of the Government of New South Wales.

The following general account is partly based upon the general summary and analysis of his own observations and those of his predecessors, embodied by Turner in the "*Challenger*" Report referred to. It has been composed, however, in full view of certain typical and selected specimens at the disposal of the reporter, who has throughout sought rather to bring the characteristic features into due prominence than to aim at even moderate completeness in this descriptive abstract.

As in other races, the distinctive characters of the Australian skull are most accentuated in the male sex and in adult age, and it has been that form of skull which has been more especially in view in the compilation of this sketch.

The very low cubic capacity of the Australian cranium is one of its most typical features. The mean of 30 skulls is given by Turner as 1,230 cub. centimetres, ranging from 1,514 c.c. in the highest male to 930 c.c. in the lowest female. De Quatrefages and Hamy give 1,269 c.c.; Flower gives 1,298 c.c. The average of the six skulls included in the subjoined table (four male and two female) is 1,299 c.c. Topinard quotes from Broca a male average of 1,547 c.c., and a female average of 1,181 c.c.

The mean of both sexes is microcephalic (i.e., below 1,350 c.c.) Indeed, according to Turner, only about 25 per cent. of the male crania exceed the upper limit of microcephaly.

On the other hand, the adult male skull tends to be massive and weighty. Turner mentions one skull which weighed, with the mandible, 2 lb. 6½ oz. avoird., or 1,100 grammes; while one of the six skulls examined in connection with this report weighed, with the mandible, 1,084 grammes.

Some special features in the configuration of the skull are fairly characteristic, if not severally, at any rate in correlation. The dimensional characters will be alluded to later on, but a few others deserve notice. Thus, a very large proportion of Australian skulls exhibit a marked ridging or antero-posterior elevation of the vertex. This is accompanied

by, and partly due to, a flattening of the cranial vault on either side as far as the region of the parietal eminences, giving a somewhat roof-like shape to the top of the skull. When viewed from behind, this is seen to throw the parietal bosses into relief, and thus to exaggerate the generally pentagonal outline of that aspect of the skull as a whole.

From above, in the *norma verticalis*, the zygomatic arches are usually apparent, and in some male skulls (as in No. 5 in table) are exceedingly prominent indeed. The elongated, almost scapho-cephalic, character of some skulls is also very striking from this point of view.

Viewed from the side in the *norma lateralis*, the frontal depression or backward slope of the forehead is seen to be considerable, so that the frontal angle is a low one. The sexual difference is, as is usual with this character, in favour of the female. The average frontal angle in the six cases tabulated below (male and female) was $66^{\circ} 25'$. This low angle is doubtless in part due to the extraordinary apparent prominence of the glabella in most of the adult male skulls, but the appearance of the latter feature is really to some extent exaggerated by the counter-sinking of the frontonasal suture, which is also characteristically extreme in such cases.

The several degrees of facial, anterior cranial and posterior cranial projection as ascertained by Topinard's craniophore may be conveniently expressed, after Broca, in relation to the total antero-posterior projection of the cranium taken as = 1,000.

With the six skulls tabulated below, the average projection of the face was 69.41; of the anterior cranium, exclusive of the face, 441.53; and of the posterior cranium, 489.04. Broca states the proportions for Europeans as follows:—Projection of face, 64.8; anterior cranium, 409.9; posterior cranium, 525.2; and for negroes thus:—Projection of face, 137.5; anterior cranium, 361.0; posterior cranium, 501.3. Hence the posterior cranial projection is proportionally less, and the anterior cranial projection greater, than in either negroes or Europeans, from which facts it may possibly be concluded that the *foramen magnum* is placed considerably further back than in either of the races mentioned. The individual variations in the proportions of these projections are, however, too great, and the series examined too small, to yield any but inconclusive evidence. It may, however, be noted that in no case did the facial projection approach at all near to that given as the negro average by Broca. In only one case did the posterior cranial projection reach the negro average, and indeed the limits of variation of this factor were narrow.

The average of the basilar index (Broca) was 50.9, i.e., the upper mesoseme limit.

Each of the six skulls, when placed—minus the mandible—upon the table, rests posteriorly upon the conceptacular region. One rests, in addition, upon the tips of the mastoids, and one on the condyles; thus they all illustrate the bulging down of the occipital bone which Turner has noticed.

The cranial sutures, especially the sagittal and coronal, tend towards simplicity of type, and early synostosis is frequent. The lambdoidal and occipito-mastoid, however, are very commonly complicated and beset with a number of wormian bones, frequently of large size. Epipetric bones are common at the pterion, which not seldom exhibits other forms of departure from the ordinary H-shaped type.

The area of the temporal fossa is extensive, sometimes reaching up to, or even beyond, the middle of the parietal eminences.

In the *norma facialis* the prominence of the superciliary ridges may be noted, but more remarkable is the massive development of the orbital arches, especially towards their outer ends, where they frequently jut out laterally to a striking degree beyond the limits of the rather narrow inferior frontal diameter.

The rounded-off character of the outer orbital margins is noticed by Turner, as also a comparable rounding off of the inferior boundary of the anterior nasal apertures, so that the floor of the nose is often almost continuous with the slope of the prognathous alveolar margins of the maxillæ. These were noteworthy characters in several of the crania under notice.

The estimation of the dimensional characters is best effected by a study of the various indices, which are usually calculated from the actual measurements. The subjoined table contains the details both of the measurements themselves and of the indices.

The cephalic or length-breadth index appears from the results of the various observers to be about 71, i.e., markedly dolicho-cephalic. Turner's average figures are 69 for males and 72 for females. Flower's average is slightly higher, but, as the former points out, the difference is probably due to the use by the latter of the ophryo-occipital diameter. In the table the glabello-occipital has been used (after Broca, Turner, and others), and the average obtained for the six crania is 70.07.

The vertical or length-height index is on the average about the same as the cephalic, or a little higher, e.g., De Quatrefages and Hamy give 71.5 for the cephalic and 71.7 for the vertical as their averages.

It has been alleged that the vertical falls below the cephalic index in a much greater proportion of skulls from the southern portion of the Australian continent than from the more northern, and this is adduced as evidence in favour of the hypothesis—advocated also on other grounds by Topinard and others—of a dual origin for the Australian black races. Turner has examined the evidence from craniological data available up to the date of his work, and finds it inconclusive.

The gnathic index of Turner ('alveolar,' of Flower) expressing the relative proportions of the basi-nasal and basi-alveolar lengths, and, ostensibly, the degree of "prognathism," does not yield a numerical factor at all constant in the Australian races. Not only is there a wide range of individual variation, but the sexual indications of the character are non-reliable.

On the whole, the facial prognathism indicated, according to Flower, by indicial numbers above 103 is very inconstant in Australians, and Turner's average was below 103, i.e., mesognathous, while various individuals were facially orthognathic. In the six skulls illustrative of this report the average gnathic index was 97.8, which would just place these skulls in the orthognathic category of Flower. The edentulous condition of No. 3, and the loss of both median incisors in No. 4, may partially account for the low average, but of the others only one attained a number over 103, so as just to class it, according to Flower, as prognathous. Turner's mean from his considerable series was 100.6.

The facial angle nearly corresponding to this index, i.e., the ophryo-alveolo-condylar, obtained by the method of projections, was, in the series here dealt with, $80^{\circ} 56'$, which is less prognathic in this sense than in most races.

Topinard, whose method was followed in determining the above angle, criticises adversely (*Anthropology*, Trans. by Bartley, Lond., 1890) the value of the estimation of facial prognathism in the above sense as affording a character of racial importance. It is quite otherwise with the projection of the maxilla below the subnasal point, i.e., alveolo-subnasal, or "true" prognathism. According to Topinard, this is a character of genuine racial importance. In the Australian race he states the average of the angle of this species of prognathism as $68^{\circ} 24'$, and, judged by this criterion, Australians are among the most prognathous of the races of men. The average angle in the six skulls tabulated below was only $66^{\circ} 44'$, the highest being 73° and the lowest 59° .

Co-related with the low gnathic indices in the table may be mentioned the high palato-maxillary indicial figures. The connection between these factors has been pointed out by Turner. That this concomitant variation is not merely due to the greater or less extension of the alveolar arch is proved by the very considerable degree of alveolo-subnasal prognathism which here co-exists with the high palato-maxillary indices. The highest index, i.e., 142.6, in No. 4, was doubtless associated with absorption of the incisor sockets, while the molars were large and well developed. On the other hand, the lowest index, in No. 3, was in a quite edentulous skull. The latter was the only skull which was not brachy-uranic, although in several the alveolar arch had undergone no absorption whatever. Turner's average is 109, i.e., dolicho-uranic. The palato-maxillary dimensions were carefully taken after Turrier's directions.

The mean nasal (nasal) index given in the table nearly corresponds with that given by de Quatrefages and Hamy (57.9), and by Flower (56.9). Turner's average was only 53.5, owing to the presence in his series of several skulls with exceptionally low indices. One in particular—a genuine Australian—was actually leptorhine, with an index of only 46.

The mean orbital index in the table corresponds exactly with that found by Turner, which was considerably higher than either Flower's or that of de Quatrefages and Hamy.

The measurement of the cubic capacity was taken after Turner's modification of Broca's method with No. 4 chilled shot, the measurements in each case being several times repeated. The dimensions, unless otherwise noted, were taken according to Broca's directions in his "*Instructions Craniologiques et Craniométriques*," Paris, 1875.

TABLE III.
Table of Dimensions and Indices of six Australian Aboriginal Crania.

The localities from which these crania were obtained and their catalogue numbers are:—1. '1238,' Manning River; 2. 'A 46,' Cowra; 3. '1196,' Kiama; 4. 'A 47,' Cowra; 5. 'S 267,' Clarence River; 6. '1210,' Middle Harbour, Port Jackson; all in New South Wales.

No. of Skull	Age	Sex	No. of Skull ...						Ref. *
			1	2	3	4	5	6	
Age	Sex	Adult	Age						Ref. *
			M.	M.	F.	F.	M.	M.	
Cubic capacity in cubic centim.		1,228	1,352	1,145	1,165	1,145	1,415	1,460	1,299
Glabello-occipital diameter		188	194	179	180	180	194	201	189
Ophryo-occipital diameter		182	192	175	180	180	194	200	187
Basal-bregmatic diameter		136	138	120	137	142	140	137	137
Minimum (inferior) frontal diameter		94	94	95	99	99	99	105	98
Stephanic diameter		108	105	100	105	106	118	107	107
Asterionic diameter		107	108	104	110	106	116	108.5	108.5
Transverse maximum diameter		132P	135P	129S	128S	133S	136S	132S	132
Length foramen magnum		31	38	34	35	36	38	35	35
Breadth foramen magnum		27	30	30	32	32	32	32	32
Cephalic index		72.13	69.6	72.06	71.11	67.96	67.96	70.07	a
Vertical index		74.31	71.1	72.06	70.11	79.45	69.65	72.61	b
Stephanic index		87.08	89.52	95.00	94.28	93.40	89.00	91.37	c
Frontal index		71.21	69.63	73.64	77.34	74.43	77.20	73.90	c
Foramen magnum index		87.10	78.94	88.23	91.42	88.88	84.21	86.46	c
Total horizontal circumference		505	525	492	500	525	551	516	
Praecuticular circumference		242	243	227	233	248	260	242	
Subarcular arc		23	22	23	21	27	25	24	
Frontal longitudinal arc (total)		125	180	125	180	140	133	129.5	
Parietal longitudinal arc		133	134	113	122	142	135	129.5	
Supra-occipital longitudinal arc		78	82	70	65	55	85	79.5	
Occipital transverse arc (total)		117	127	119	112	108	132	119	
Vertical transverse arc		284	295	278	285	298	303	290.5	
Orbital external		106	105	108	109	115	114	109.5	
Orbital internal		96	96	98	98	102	103	103	

* Av. = Average; Ref. = References; as follows:—S, squamous; P, parietal; a, dolichocephalic; b, metriocephalic (Turner); c, mesocephalic; d, mesocephalic (Turner); e, orthognathous (Flower); f, platyrrhine; g, brachy-uranic (Turner).

ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA OF ABORIGINES IN NEW SOUTH WALES (MACQUARY RIVER).

Name.	Place where resident.	Age in years.	Height.	Girth round chest.	Weight.	Ground to calf of leg (thickest part).	Ground to centre of knee.	Ground to umbilicus.	Ground to chin.	Ground to tips of fingers (the hand being placed against the thigh).	Length of arm from point of shoulder to elbow.	Length of arm from point of elbow to tips of fingers.
			ft. in.	inches	stone lb.	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches
Men.	Ned Anderson	27	5 8	38½	12 0	14½	20	32	43½	60	26½	30
	Edward Peter	20	5 6	38½	10 11	14½	19	29½	42½	59	23½	19½
	Nap	39	5 5½	36	9 5	14½	19½	30½	39½	57½	22½	17½
	Little Charley	40	5 3½	33	8 12	14	18½	30½	38	55½	22½	17½
Women.	Lizzy Drew	28	5 2	40	10 8	12	18	30	38½	54	21½	17
	Ida Nap	25	4 9	36	8 4	11	16½	28	32½	49	20½	14½
	Charlotte	25	4 9½	33½	7 6	12	17	28½	36½	51	21	14½
	Sherwood											
Boys.	Jim Crawford	12	4 7	27½	5 5	11	16½	27	34	46	19½	14½
	Hasty Drew	9	4 4½	26½	5 0	11½	15½	23½	33	43	19½	14½
	Pelican Island	6	3 9	23½	3 3	10½	13	20	27½	38½	15½	11
	Hughy Drew											
Men.	John Moesely	36	5 10½	36	11 6	14	21	33½	43½	62½	26½	18
	Jimmy Linwood	32	5 10½	38	11 6	14	19½	30½	43½	62	26	19½
	George Drew	35	6 0½	40	10 5	15	22	36½	46	65	27	20
	Pelican Island											
Women.	Jane Moesely	40	5 4	36	9 6	12	18½	31½	38	55	23	16½
	Emily Linwood	28	5 4½	38½	11 8	12½	18	31½	36½	56	22½	17
	Alice Anderson	27	5 8	35½	9 0	14½	19	32½	40	58	25	17½
	Pelican Island											
Boys.	Thomas Moesely	15	5 10	32½	9 3	14½	18½	33	43½	61	25½	18
	Walter Susan	13	4 7½	28	5 12	12	16	25½	34	47	19	16
	Eugene Miranda	18	5 11	30	11 2	16	21	34½	45	62½	26½	18
	Yessabah											

FULL-BLOOD BLACKS.

HALF-CASTE BLACKS.

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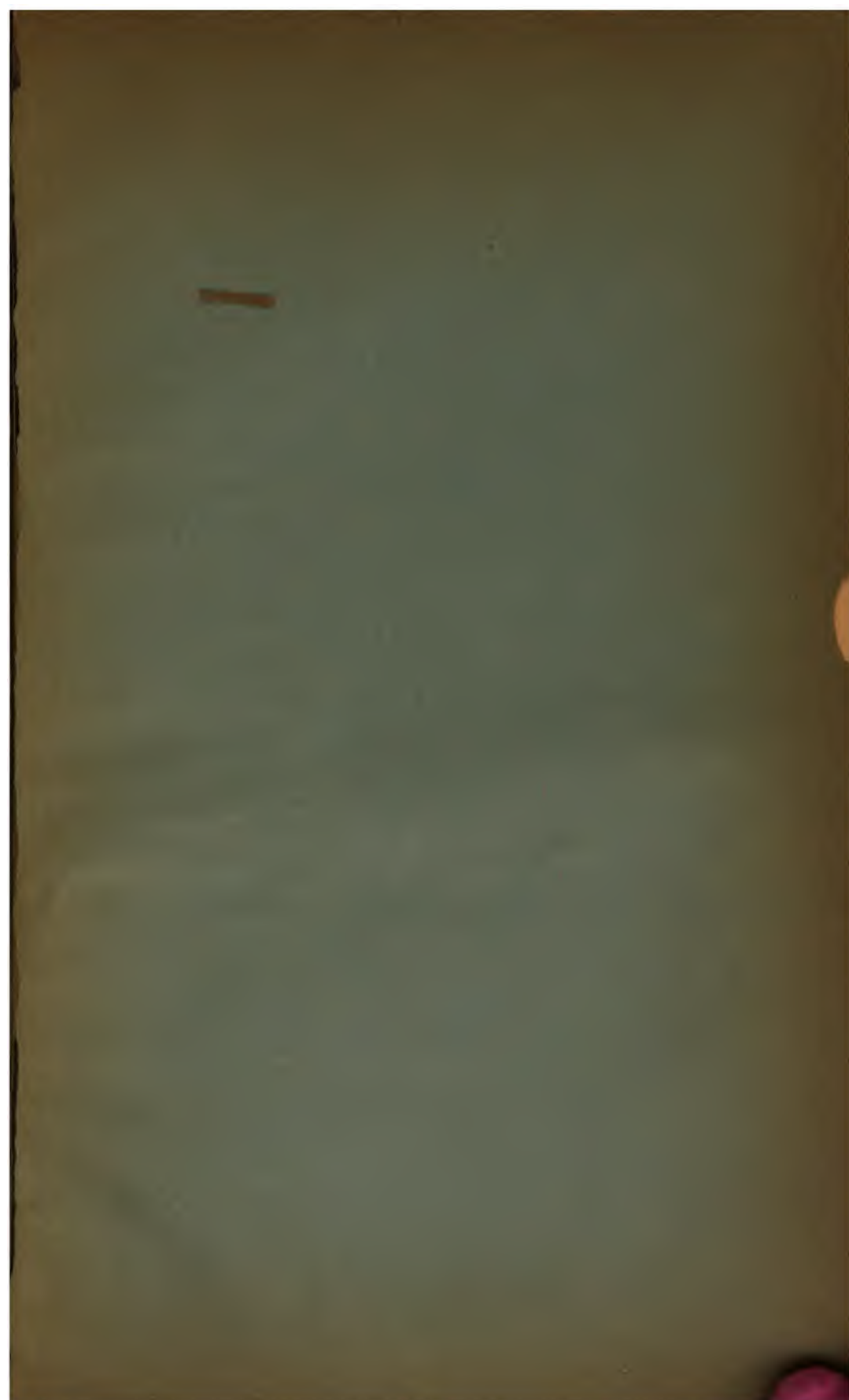
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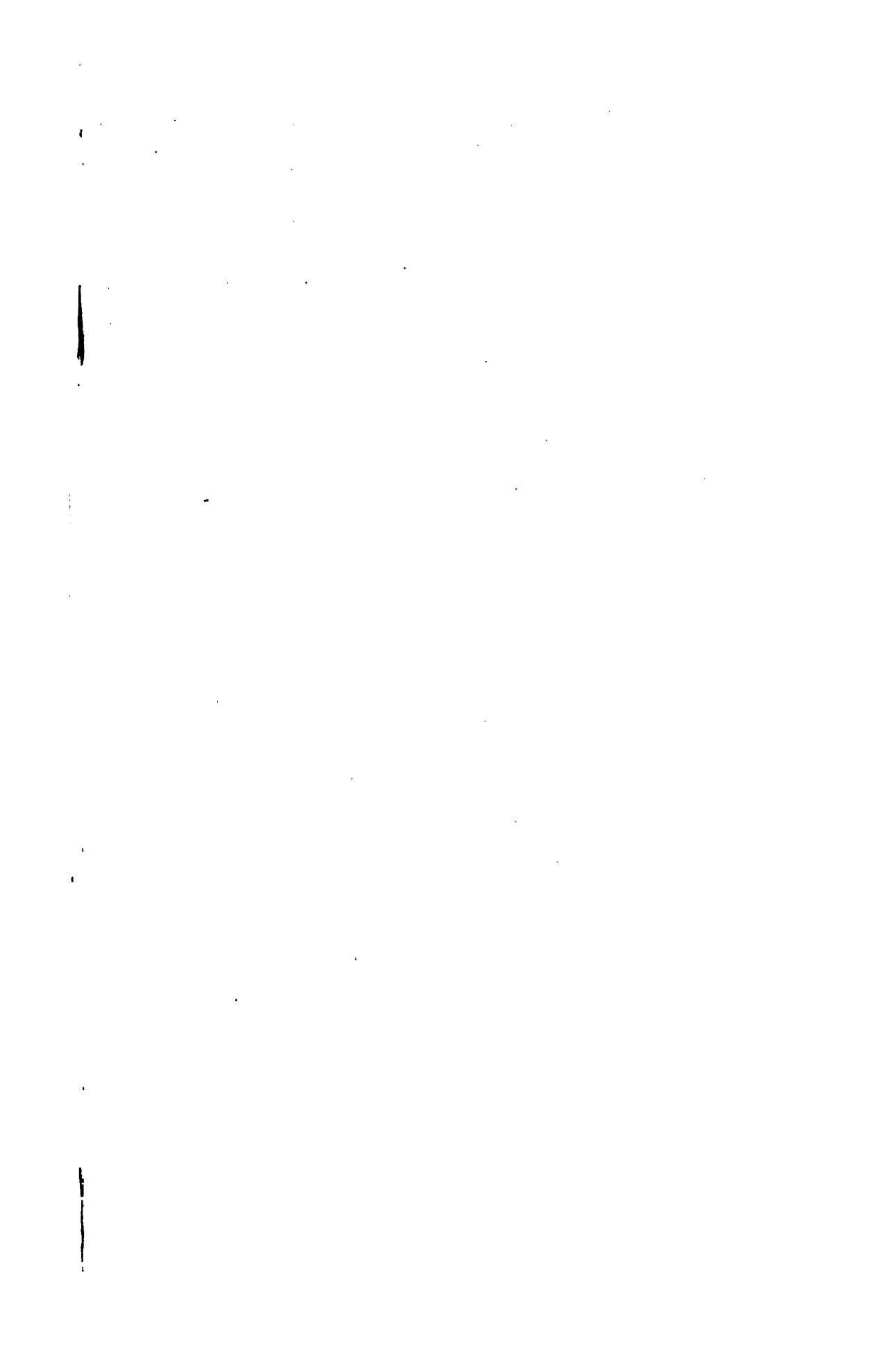
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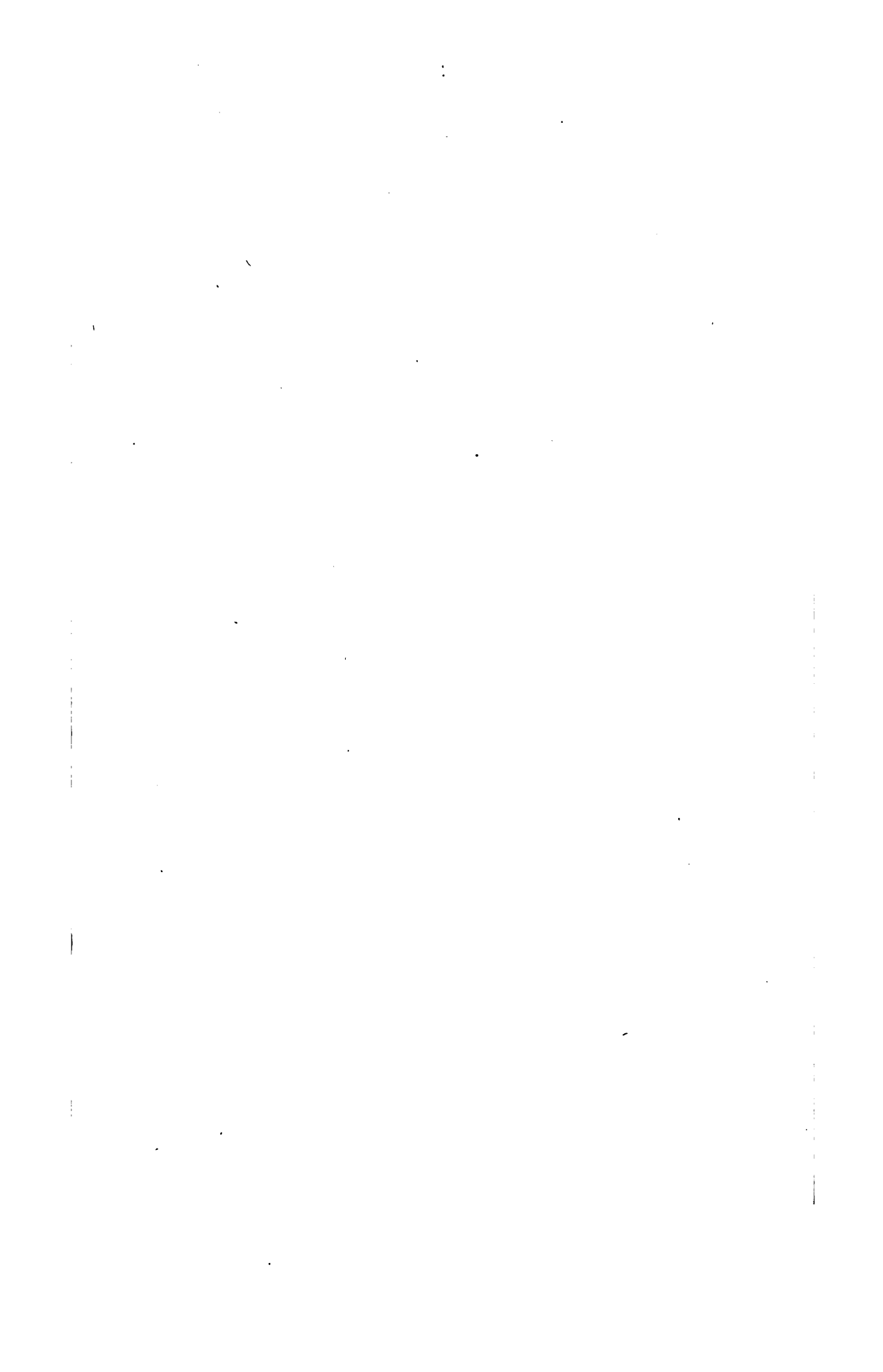
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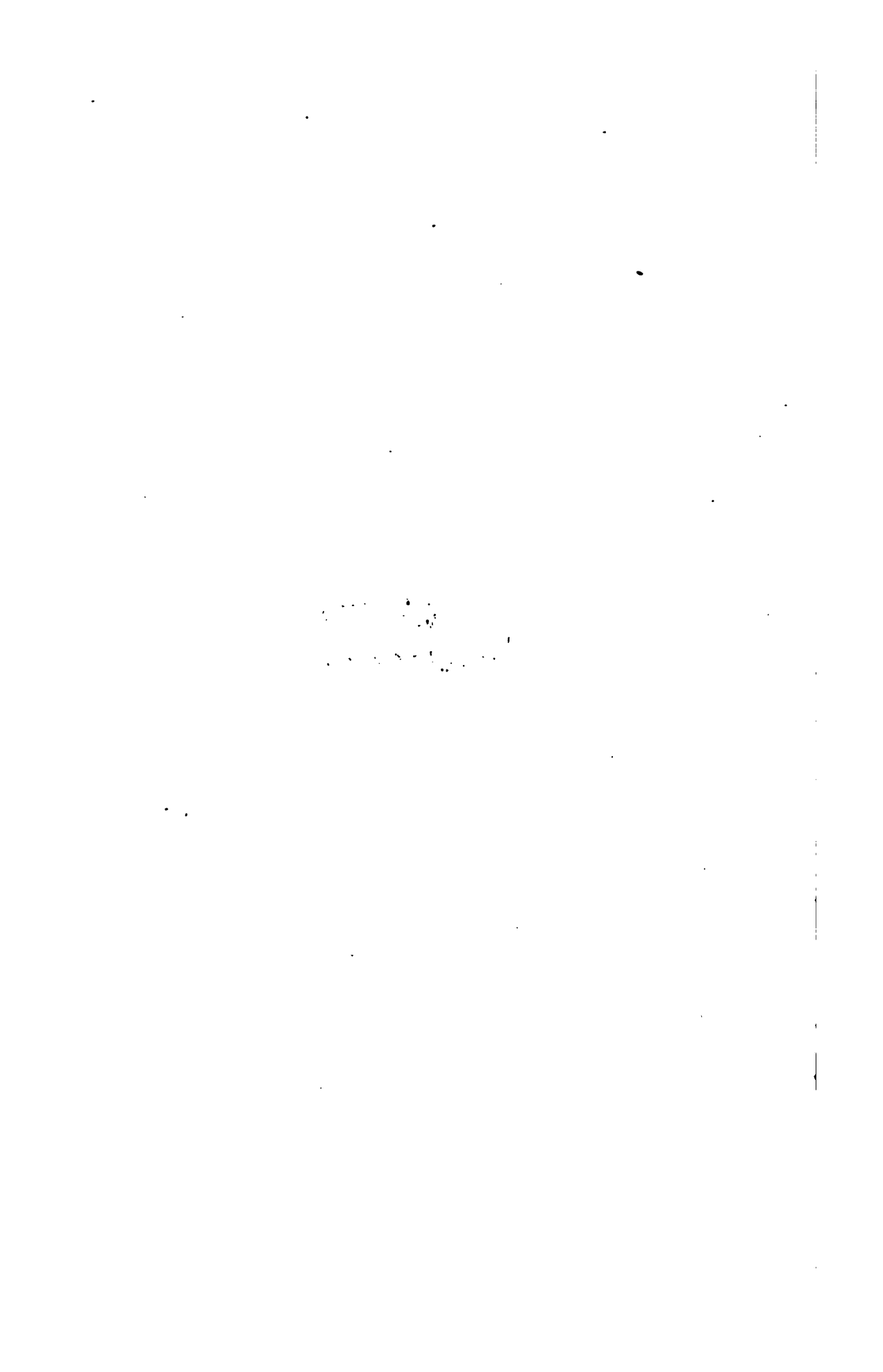
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